



Sleeping Dragon Events Calendar

2002 Events

FEBRUARY 23rd

Rally at the Legislature

1000's of people are expected to gather to protest the liberal government's cutbacks and the new budget. If ye don't riot, ye can't complain.

APRIL 27th

Walk for Global Justice

Fo' mo' info:
www.justicewalk.ca

MAY 1st

May Day

Provincial wide convergence in Vancouver against capitalism and Campbell. Come out and fight against the state like anarchists and the working class did over 100 years ago in Chicago. They got the 8 hour day, we'll get their heads.

For more info: www.tao.ca

MAY 3rd-5th.

IWW

Regional Gathering-Members and Friends. Workshops, Social function and Idea sharing.

Contact: vic-gmb@iww.ca
Can arrange billets.

June 7

Wild Earth 2002

Annual eco-anarchist hoopla for the defence of the land. Come on out and

share skills and tactics with folks who want to stop the capitalists from destroying the Earth. This year's gathering is in the Slocan Valley, B.C., Sinixt territory. For more information email: wildearth@tao.ca or check out the website at: www.wildearth.tao.ca

June 26-28

G-8 Meeting

This year the parasites of the G-8 are meeting in remote Kananaskis, Alberta. Thousands are expected to disrupt their meetings and make them wish they had never come.

For more info: www.g8.activist.ca

Ongoing in Victoria:

Compost Education Centre

Offers ongoing organic gardening workshops and courses throughout the year. Workshops/courses range from basic gardening, composting, fruit tree pruning, to permaculture basics. For more info call 386-9676. Or come by and visit at:

1216 North Park St, Victoria.

Spring Ridge Commons

Is an edible community green-space. Work parties happen every other Sunday beginning February 3rd at 10:00 am. They include mulching, planting and watering. On Feb. 24 at 10-2 there will be a tree planting party. So come on

out and lend a hand. If you want to take a look it's on the corner of Gladstone and Camosun. For more info call 386-9676.

Race Relations

Is an advocacy group for people who are getting screwed over because of systemic racism. Volunteers are needed. Drop in hours 12:00-4:00. 414-620 View street.

For more info: 380-7311

Anti-Poverty Coalition (APOV)

For info regarding the General Monthly Assembly/Potluck on the last Saturday of every month, for the monthly Welfare Wednesday food serving, if your being screwed by welfare, the police, your boss, etc. etc. or for any other info call 388-9181 (voicemail checked daily) or write: Box 8441, Victoria, V8W 3S1

Victoria Status Of Women Action Group (SWAG)

Is assembling a network of women and their children living on low-income. Meetings for peer support and collective group action, including the good food box, which is collectively bought local food at low prices.

For more info call 383-7322

★ SLEEPING DRAGON PRESS ★



ISSUE #6

Winter/Spring 2002

SECWPEPMC ELDERS ARRESTED AT SUN PEAKS ROADBLOCK

On December 28, 2002 Elder Irene Billy 73 years old of the Adams Lake Band and Winnifred McNab-Lulu 75 years old of the Skeetchestin Band were arrested near Sun Peaks resort. They have been charged with blocking the road between Kamloops and the Sun Peaks Ski Resort. Sheila Ignance, Elizabeth Clemah and Janice Billy were also arrested at the same time.

The road was blocked in response to our outrage at the destruction of the cord wood home and sweatlodges at McGillivray Lake and the absolute silence of the Chiefs regarding this destruction. Chief Stewart Phillip and Chief Arthur Manuel were the only Chiefs to make statements. It was also set up in response to Sun Peaks physical block-ages of the road to Mt. Morrissey and the snow blockades on the McGillivray Lake road.

The Elders and supporter felt that the destruction of the sweatlodges was an outrageous offence that needed to be specifically reacted to despite the fact of the consequences. Indeed the destruction of the sweatlodges still needs to be properly dealt with because they were built according to a prescribed set of ceremonies and must also be dismantled accordingly. This will be done when access is made to the McGillivray Lake location.

The people arrested were acknowledged and thanked for their service to their people at a dinner on January 3, 2002 at the Adams Lake Hall. A large audience enjoyed hearing Elder Irene Billy describe how Elder Winnifred McNab-Lulu and her talked about Elder Winnifred's decision to join Irene in getting arrested. It is clear that the decision to be arrested was made by our Elders. It is clear that we can learn from their commitment and determination. Thank you for your strength and love. It is through you personally giving up your liberty that we as a Secwepemc peoples will find freedom.

The Struggle for Skwelkwek'welt

CORD WOOD CABIN DESTROYED

On December 10, 2001 the British Columbia Assets and Lands Corporation (BCAL) acting under an injunction destroyed the cord wood house built by the Secwepemc peoples at McGillivray Lake. The cord wood home was destroyed under a Trespass and Seizure Notice issued by BCAL. The injunction did not however deal with the legitimate aspect of the Trespass and Seizure Notices. In fact Geoff Plant the Attorney General of BC destroyed the building before this matter could be dealt with by a court because he was afraid the BC government would lose.

In fact the Neskonlith Indian Band lawyers had a conference call with Judge and Crown Counsel but it was clear that the province had their plans to proceed with destroying the cord wood home and deal with the legal consequences later. It was apparent that since the entire BC land tenure system was being challenged by this unauthorized cord wood home the Attorney General decided to physically out maneuver the courts in deciding this matter by destroying the home in the middle of night using Sun Peaks employees and equipment to do the job.

BUILDING OUR HOME: A LEARNING EXPERIENCE

When we began construction of our home at McGillivray Lake, we were not just constructing a building, we were rebuilding the infrastructure of our past government, our past laws. All our past ways of living were coming back the longer we stayed up there. We felt the strength flowing from the land and into our bodies, our minds, and our spirit. No words can explain the deep connection we were all getting to our surroundings, to our land. Needless to say, we were all anticipating the day we would move into our home.

Building our home was a learning experience, not only the experience of constructing a building, but experiencing and prac-

(Continued on next page)



Criminalizing Dissent and Poverty in Victoria

On December 4th the people of Victoria were once again reminded of the brute force potential of the Victoria police department when they are protecting the "peace of mind" of the upper class.

Since mid-November, a group of homeless had been occupying the causeway in Centennial Square bringing attention to the lack of housing and decent shelters in the city. 20-40 people remained there until the City of Victoria issued an injunction to remove the small band of peaceful squatters.

During a decision making circle on the day of the supposed eviction, a woman — Hennie Stibbe — heckled and harassed the group and an argument followed. She found two police officers and had them follow and arrest a man who was leaving the square. Someone who had witnessed the arrest came and relayed the news to the main circle and people ran to the corner of Pandora and Douglas to see what was happening. The next man was arrested for asking Cst. Trudeau (who also happens to be responsible for the murder of Anthony Dawson) why the first man had been ar-

rested, and refused to be ignored. Within minutes a third arrest was made. All three arrests involved police violence — pepper spray, punches, and strangling. From here a small group went to the police station to provide jail support. Inside the police station a man approached Hennie Stibbe to find out why she had had his friend arrested, she then ordered him arrested as well. Once again, this clearly illustrates that the police are here to serve and protect the interests of the rich. Inside the jail, a few police officers were overheard making racist remarks.

Interestingly enough, this incident occurred in the same month as the release of the "Committee of the Whole Report" which detailed 28 different legal proceedings against the City of Victoria Police Department between May 1999 and November 2001. These incidents involve assault, false arrest, and in one case a death of a man while in custody.

The four people arrested are up on various charges including obstruction, assault of a police officer and criminal harassment.

INCREASED POLICE PRESENCE TO DETER CRIME.

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Letter from the SDP Collective

Editorials feel meaningless, insufficient in these times. Pieces of the world are burning with the fires of resistance, while other pieces are turning to ash under the fire of imperialism. All the while, most of America is wrapped in a Prozac haze, patriotically consuming any life away. Everyday gets hotter and hotter, drought or incendiary, hot rebar and steel. The New York sky line's one step closer to the way it should be. Bombs fall on the frozen Afgani landscapes, and now the burnt skeletons of Argentinean banks turn the meanings again. To South Korea, the Philippines...

Mid cold winter and we need to bring the class war home to warm our hands and our hearts. These days the only way to move is swiftly, lightly, firmly. These are not days for sign waving and signing petitions. Lose your job, welfare cut-off, and private mega-jails being built. Sometimes it takes the whole day, just to get through another day. When friends and family are around it's easier. Does the struggle to survive, living below the poverty line, keep us too busy surviving the welfare line-ups and frozen dumpsters to demand more? Enough is enough! Too few are doing the work that needs to get done. Don't let Gordo and his buddies win this one (let's teach 'em like the Ontarians did Harris or the Argentinians are doing with de la Rúa). Your life is worth fighting for!

The water in Walkerton is unsafe to drink; white people media paying attention to white people. Since the time of the reservations started, water for natives has been unfit to drink. In 'bc' the time of the colony has only been 150 years. Memory lapses—from Cook to Campbell—there's always been a war going on. Bring it on home....

We have been inspired by all the strong publications, actions and the brewing movements over the last while. Winter seems to be a time for hibernation and court dates... We would like to apologize for all the typos in the last issue. A lot of articles got cut off short due to font fuck ups at the printer. All apologies to any authors who's work was cut off short.

Colonization is.... Always war.

And eat lots of garlic.

- the sleeping dragon collective

SLEEPING DRAGON DISTRIBUTION

If you would like to order copies of Sleeping Dragon please send well concealed cash, cheque or money order to:

Sleeping Dragon Press
Box 539, 185 - 911 Yates St.,
"Victoria, BC", V8V 4Y9
"Canada", Coast Salish Territory

PRICES: (approximately)
(to cover postage)

Single issues: \$1

20 copies or more: 50 cents/ copy
American orders please send US Funds.

Please email us at: resist@tao.ca
to verify the cost of postage before mailing.

The colonizer calls this province "Super Natural British Columbia". And it's true. It is a powerful land of cedar, towering mountains, and dark grey skies. There is no place like it. Despite destruction, it is one of the few areas that still has large areas of forest and clean water, that still has eagles, bears, cougars and wolves. There is a power in this land and in the sea. It is the land of Thunderbirds. It is here we can still say "One does not sell the earth upon which people walk."

- Zig Zag

RECALL FOR SUBMISSION TO ANTI-PATRIARCHY ZINE

In issue #5 there was an anti-patriarchy zine calling for submissions. Please do not send any submissions to the PO box or the email account. It turns out that the person working on this zine is a male who has recently committed rape and needs to seriously work on his shit before he could help anyone else with theirs.

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Note: All content is intended for entertainment purposes only.

(Struggle for Skwelkwel'welt continued from page 1)

ticing real Indian values. We built our home with our hearts. We dedicated all our energy, and sacrificed all our time. We put our heart and soul into building the house day in and day out, in the rain, in freezing temperatures, in the wet snow, all while being under constant police surveillance and harassment. Most days we pushed our bodies to our physical limits. Whatever conditions we woke up to in the early morning we had to overcome.

Although it was difficult to get started in the morning, our determination to live at Skwelkwel'welt was strong and kept us going. Each and every one of us felt the best we have ever felt. We finally found what it meant to be truly happy. We were working hard, being healthy, helping each other, learning about the land and animals all while building a home for us to live in. We knew we were doing what the Creator wanted us to do: to live at Skwelkwel'welt and take care of the land. While being up at Skwelkwel'welt, we got to know our surroundings: the trees, the ravens, even weather patterns.

Unfortunately, we also got to know the foreign system that worked tirelessly conspiring to remove us from our home in the mountains. For the six months that we visibly resided at McGillivray Lake, Sun Peak's attempted to seek two injunctions, and we were issued a Trespass Notice and Seizure Notice. However, we did not stop building and, needless to say, the conspirators didn't stop their attempts to remove us either.

Finally, on December 3, 2001, BCAL and the Attorney General went to court seeking an injunction and enforcement order to remove us from our home at the Lake. Two days later on December 5th, Justice Beams ruled in favour of the government and gave the RCMP the authority to move in on December 10th and arrest anyone occupying our home at the Lake. When December 10th came, we decided as a group that no one was to get arrested. We all left with the understanding and the assurance by the RCMP that our house would remain standing.

On our way down from Skwelkwel'welt we heard news that an excavator was on its way up on the other side of the mountain. We quickly turned around and headed back home. It took us nearly four hours to get back to the Lake because our vehicle got stuck in a snow bank. When we returned home, we were devastated to see that our home was completely demolished. There was no sign of it. They even took our cement slab foundation. It was extremely difficult for some of us to contain our anger, especially witnessing the Sun Peak's employees, which the government contracted to do the actual demolition, smirking and laughing around the area where our home once stood.

We returned the next day to see once again the evil doings of the government and Sun Peaks. Two of the victims to these heartless acts, Mahekan, who is 2 years old, and Aaron, who is 10 years old, fell down to the ground and screamed in pain when they saw what had been done to their home. Their screams of hurt were felt by all of us there and were so unbearable to listen to. How could the Attorney General or any of the employees of BCAL and Sun Peaks live with themselves after doing such atrocities to children, to elders, to women, to fellow human beings? All of us young people, who are without a home this winter as a result of BCAL and the Attorney General's decision, found happiness up there that we never felt before and we are grateful that for that short time we were truly happy. Sometime we talk about how it would be if the house was still standing. We imagine that it would be warm and cozy filled with family, filled with love, and filled with happiness. Although we are grateful for the happiness we found, we are not content with only those few months. We have not allowed the government and Sun Peaks to execute our dreams. We will return to Skwelkwel'welt and live the way that was meant for us, in happiness on our land.

Niki Manuel, Royal Nabbexie, and Dave Sanderson

FUNDING NEEDS

Since the summer of 2000, Secwepemc and their supporters have been maintaining a peaceful protest on and around Sun Peaks, government offices and BCAL. Throughout this time Elders, community members and supporters have been arrested. In addition to mounting legal and research expenses, our community has carried the cost of our National and International campaign and communication outreach program for the last year and a half. Increasingly, the burden of these costs are effecting the efficiency of our people to continue to protect our watershed from further wide spread destruction by the major inter-national corporation Nippon Cable and by Mr. Ohkubo

- Donations for legal costs
- Donations for research
- Donations for communications
- Donations for International & National campaigns and boycotts
- Contact the Neskoniith Indian Band at:
(250) 679-3295 or Fax: (250) 679-5306

9/11 HAS THE WORLD AS WE KNOW IT REALLY CHANGED?

Many thought so when the towers fell, once in real life and repeatedly on tv. Now it's embedded in our memories. "Where were you the day Elvis died?", substitute "Elvis died" with "towers fell". I was in the mountains far away from everything. In the morning someone called on the radio- phone, "you better turn on the radio, there's some crazy shit happening in the world today". We could only receive short wave at night so for the entire day we speculated. All we heard was that the pentagon had been bombed and a plane flew into the world trade centre. We held in our euphoria (revolution!) in the midst of concern for the potential dead and disapproval of such violent means. That night we found out the basic facts, four passenger planes, two buildings full of people and a section of the pentagon.

It didn't take long for US foreign policy to come to light, at least in the alternative press and radical circles. The list of countries bombed, governments destroyed, military campaigns for questionable causes and such was long enough to leave little doubt that those responsible in the US were asking for it. Since that day many have critiqued, analysed, investigated and responded. However I returned to the city still reeling from the event and the media portrayal. Desperate to hear others thoughts on the racist induced frenzy of misdirected revenge that erupted that day and is continuing during the bombing of Afghanistan, I started asking questions.

Everyone I talked to had emotional reactions mixed with a heavy shot of shock. CC was amazed that the centre of world capitalism was destroyed before our very eyes. He was glued to the tv for a week. Z stopped on a street corner in front of a tv to watch in disbelief and almost laughed, not because it was humorous but as a coping mechanism for disaster. To explain her reaction she quoted Minnie Bruce Pratt, "The shell of my privilege was broken. The shell that had given me a shape in the world, held me apart from the world, protected me from the world. I was astonished at the pain. The extent of my surprise revealed the degree of my protection." S felt numb. She wrote she "would go insane otherwise, because to actually feel the horror of 5,000 people murdered in less than two hours is too much for the human body to endure. The world is numb. At least those in the world who are pulling the triggers and those who are cheering them on."

Those were initial reactions. After the media grabbed hold of the complete story the reality of retaliation looked even worse. "Gruesome images, racist, sensationalized, tacky and insensitive at

of "the scariest thing is that there's little best" was how S described the press room, if any, left for sarcasm. How can coverage. Articles about immigrants we possibly go farther than the cynicism of what is actually being said with described them as "terrorist suspects" total conviction." Then there are those like G who are quite adamant that there will soon be a civil war in the US. Many mentioned fear for themselves and others who are involved in insurgency movements with radical tactics like the anti-globalization

Globe and Mail, over 450 have been pulled into custody since 09/11. Although we are aware that the media is biased and controlled, we often forget that the opinions portrayed in the media generally match those of society. The media echoes a certain section of societies reactions, or is it the other way around?

Z was not surprised when random people started blaming the "other" before there was even an idea of who had masterminded and executed the act. Seeing the undercurrent of racial tension surface caused her great sadness. She pointed out that "so many of us are scared of losing our own protection that we can't reach out and see a bigger picture." This reminds me of world war II, when Japanese-canadians were confined to internment camps and Canada turned away boatloads of Jewish refugees. S remarks, "in our national amnesia we've forgotten who massacred womyn and children in how many schools and universities? The white supremacist that blew up the building in Oklahoma - and yet all terrorists are dark skinned." The very history of this illegitimate country and the US is one of terror for anyone not white.

Along with racism society reacted with fear. CC comments that this is the first time, in a long-time, that north America has been on the receiving end of a military scale attack. "Out of fear" CC says, "comes support for reactionary measures." A friend of CC's believes that this is the end of the postmodern era, where irony will no longer function. Things like "typical protests" and performance art will lose their context in a climate where everything must be serious or risk not making sense. At a spoken word night in Vancouver I experienced this, only the serious rant about war and capitalism made any sense to me, the drag queen comedian was talented but seemed out of place in a room full of people weighed down with the state of the world. S had a similar idea, to her one

movement and the First Nations land reoccupations. "Security" has again become a hot topic in radical circles. Z was worried about the safety of outspoken and unhidden people like Thobani. Reading the responses to Thobani's speech made Z realize her opinion is not the majority. A meeting held soon after 09/11 attended by S was "good in that it brought together activists, young and old, white and of colour, and of different ideologies to discuss some ways in which we can express ourselves. Vigils, marches, forums and media outreach were organized in less than two hours and no one was bogged down in ideology. The climate is different now. I wonder how long it will last." It was also at that meeting that the community attempted to address the real fear that people of colour, particularly Sikhs, Arabs and Muslims, have of leaving the protection of their homes in a post 09/11 Victoria.

The events validated Z's feeling that no civilian death is ever justified. "People who didn't have the same opinion as me" says Z "jumped to the conclusion that I thought it was okay for those people to die because of the legacy of the US." CC came to similar conclusion. His beliefs were reconfirmed that there are times when insurgents who take up violent means must be careful to target those who bare a large degree of the responsibility in a capitalist infrastructure, for example executives and security forces, not non-combatant civilians. CC stressed the importance of distinguishing the violent nature of resistance against indiscriminate violence.

"Now is the time to surrender or push harder" states CC. "It is time to develop strategic thinking and modes of clandestinity." He recommends "focusing on a serious anti-capitalist movement which can defend itself against repression. It must be radically decentralized and rooted more deeply in the elements of society that experience exploitation and oppression."

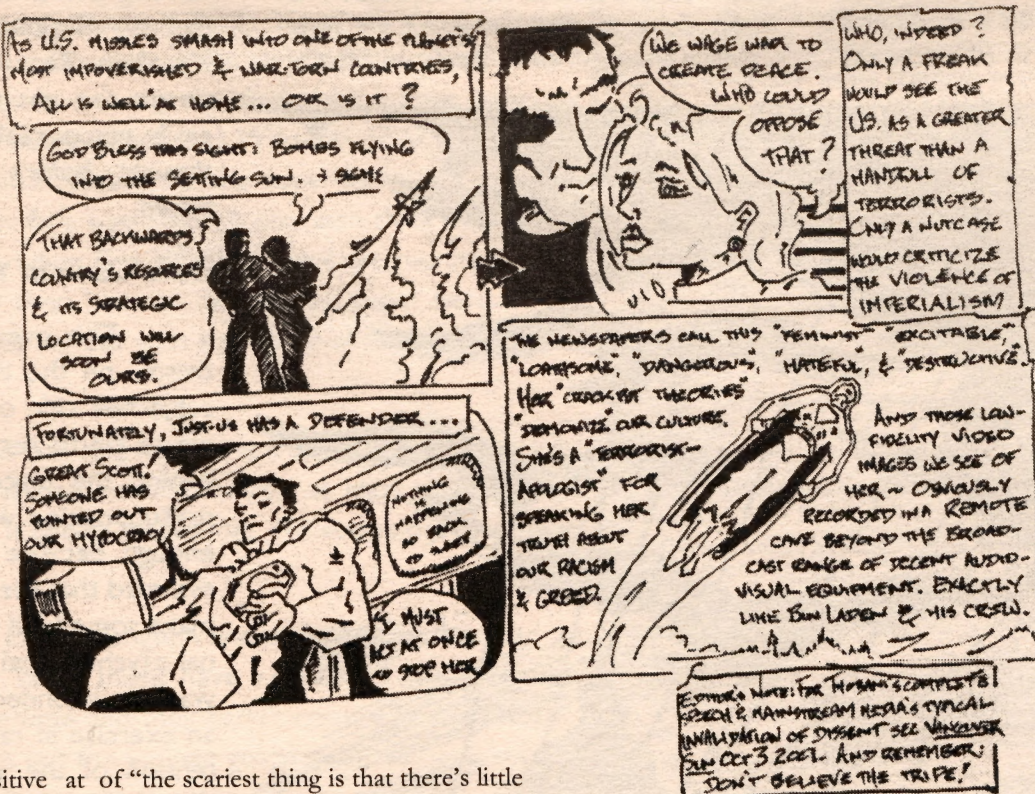
is founded on the "idea that we are all equal therefore we need the same thing rather than, we are all different and therefore need different things to be on the same ground." She admits it's "so complex I don't know what the answer is, but I know what it is not, not a military occupation." Z is someone who is active in trying to end the occupation of Palestine. Since 09/11 this occupation has become more severe. What seemed to her as a clear wrong and right looks more complex now. She calls it "multiple subject positions". That means that she "supports Palestinian independence but it no longer means [she] agrees with everything 'they', which is a problematic term, are doing." Z took a plane shortly after 09/11. "Airport security isn't going to solve the world's problems, it has been demeaning for a lot of people." There's a whole new world to the traditional fear of flying. No matter how purposely one opposes radicalized prejudice, in the street, in the cab on the way to the airport, as soon as one enters security the media fed paranoia kicks in. "At airport security everyone is looking around, 'do I see difference?' Who should I be trusting? How am I a part of this [paranoia]?" Z took a hard look at herself and she asks others to do the same, "no activist wants to admit that paranoid fear." She ended with a quote from a professor she had, "there will always be racism against First Nations because it's the hearts and the minds of the people that need a shift."

It's been over two months (at the time of the interviews) now. The shock has worn off, the horror has subsided, and the extraordinary has become everyday. We are in the middle, or possibly the beginnings of a war waged against "terrorism" or so the anglo-americans say. CC feels less afraid, less swept up in things, in a better position to think things through and make appropriate plans. Similarly S is less emotionally raw and sees it more clearly. It has become obvious that there is a long road ahead of us. CC cautioned, "large aspects of Canadian society, like the budget, are leaning towards a military state, which is something to get our heads around as a resistance movement." He is glad to see people still making an effort to continue what existed before 09/11.

"Not that it's any less important" emphasizes S, with unchanged politics. Now she understands different levels. "The media began by using peoples fear to convince them of the righteousness of this war. Now Osama Bin Laden has been transformed into a comic figure, an abstract Hollywood character in order to remove the realism." S says it's "no different that when the US bombed Iraq, Yugoslavia, and all the others."

Or is it? Is this a world wide acceptance of a US led war to Z believes "knowledge is finally settle the question of who rules power and access to knowledge is the world? Is there worldwide acceptance? Is it just another day in a terrorist eat bombs world? These are easy questions for me to ask, I'm a white 'canadian' by birth and have the quiet of a bomb less sky to think in.

"We need peace" is a slogan that to her



Postscript to "Give up Activism"

Originally published in "Do or Die" no .9 This article was originally published in Reflection on June 18th

Many of the articles in the Reflections on June 18th pamphlet repeated almost to the onset of tedium that capitalism is a social relation and isn't just to do with big banks, corporations or international financial institutions. It's an important point and worth making, but "Give up Activism" had other fish to fry.

Therefore the conclusion reached by these other articles was the point of departure for this one. If it is true that capitalism is a social relation based in production and in the relations between classes then what implications does this have for our activity and for our method of attacking it? The basic kernel of the piece and the initial idea that inspired the writing of it is the "Form and Content" section. It had occurred to many people that there was something a little odd about a "day of action against capitalism". The original inspiration behind the article was an attempt to pin down what it was that made the idea appear a little odd, incongruous, contradictory.

It seemed there was a similarity between the way we were carrying on acting like liberal activists campaigning against capitalism as if it was another single issue, another "cause", and Vaneigem's critique of the leftist militant, whose politics consist of a set of duties carried out on behalf of an external "cause". It is true that the activist and the militant share this common factor and it is a good point to make, but it is about all they have in common. I made the mistake of carrying over all the other characteristics attributed by Vaneigem to "the militant" and assigning them also to the activist, when they largely weren't appropriate. As a result, large sections of "Give up Activism" come across as far too harsh and as an inaccurate representation of the direct action movement. What we do is in general not a sterile routine repetition of a few set

poses. The Situationists' characteristic bile was perhaps more appropriate when directed at leftist party hacks, than as a description of the sort of politics involved around June 18th. The self-sacrifice, the martyrdom and guilt that Vaneigem identified as central to the politics of "the militant" is much less a feature of direct action politics.

As has been very neatly drawn out by an excellent critique in the American publication *The Bad Days Will End!*, (1) the original idea that motivated the writing of the article and this rehashing of Vaneigem, translating the critique of the leftist "militant" into that of the liberal "activist", are incongruously roped together to produce an article which is an unwieldy amalgam of the objective (what social situation are we in? What forms of action are appropriate?) and the subjective (Why do we feel like activists? Why do we have this mentality? Can we change our way of thinking?). It is not so much that the subjective aspect of activism is emphasised over the objective, but rather more that the very real problems that are identified with acting as activists come to be seen to be mere products of having this "activist mentality". "Give up Activism" can then be read such that it seems to reverse cause and effect and to imply that if we simply "give up" this mental role then the objective conditions will change too:

[Give up Activism's] greatest weakness is this one-sided emphasis on the "subjective" side of the social phenomenon of activism. The emphasis points to an obvious conclusion implicit throughout [the] argument: If activism is a mental attitude or "role", it may be changed, as one changes one's mind, or thrown off, like a mask or a costume. The implication is clear: cease to cling, let go of the role, "give up activism", and a significant impediment

"Give up Activism was not intended to be an article about or an exercise in radical therapy. The main intention of the article, however inexpertly executed, was always to think about our collective activity, what we are doing and how we might do it better."

ment to the desired change will be removed. (2)

The article was of course never proposing that we could simply think ourselves out of the problem. It was intended merely to suggest that we might be able to remove an impediment and an illusion about our situation as one step towards challenging that situation, and from that point we might start to discover a more effective and more appropriate way of acting.

It is now clear that the slipshod hitching of Vaneigem to an enquiry into what it was that was incongruous and odd in having a one-day action against capitalism was an error, prompted by an over-hasty appropriation of Situationist ideas, without considering how much of a connection there really was between them and the original idea behind the piece. The theory of roles is perhaps the weakest part of Vaneigem's ideas, and as Gilles Dauve says in his *Critique of the Situationist International*, "Vaneigem was the weakest side of the SI, the one which reveals all its weaknesses". (3) The sort of degeneration that Situationist ideas underwent after the disintegration of the SI in 1968 took the worst elements of Vaneigem's "radical subjectivity" as their starting point, in the poorest examples effectively degenerating into bourgeois individualism. That it is this element of Situationist thought that has proven the most easily recuperable should give us pause for thought before too-readily taking it on board.

Revolution in Your Head

This over-emphasis in "Give up Activism" on the theory of roles and on the subjective side of things has led some people to fail to recognise the original impetus behind the piece. This starting point and presupposition was perhaps not made clear enough, because some people seem to have assumed that the purpose of the article is to make some kind of point concerning individual psychological health. "Give up Activism" was not intended to be an article about or an exercise in radical therapy. The main intention of the article, however inexpertly executed, was always to think about our collective activity, what we are doing and how we might do it better.

However, there was a point to the "subjectivism" of the main part of the article. The reason why "Give up Activism" was so concerned with our ideas and our mental



One: The New Outlaw

Lawrence Ytzhak Braithwaite

Author John Rechy once referred to those who practice same sex love and expression as "sexual outlaw (s)". Homosexuality then makes an affiliation with social and political outlaw culture. It was, like most movements of the time, one based on looking out instead of the constant inward.

Therefore, late 60's and 70's sexual politics was more involved and concerned with the collective well being of a new society based on knowledge and liberation, than it was with acceptance, power and physical gratification. As society became more consumer orientated all this changed quickly. Homosexuality becomes acceptable, calling itself an identity, a community, "Gay culture" and then "Queer culture" and, once again, back to the word "Gay". The issues abandoned liberation, knowledge and solidarity. What came to replace them was a self centred identity based on sex and power and the fulfilment of those desires at all cost. In contemporary pop culture that's called 'chasing your dick'. The



MC Doug E.

Rolling Stones leveled the issues of sexual identity down to "a gay in New York is just a fag in LA."

Let me break it down as such – poet and teacher June Jordan, in the documentary "A Place of

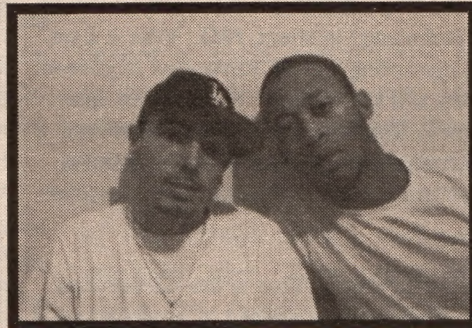
Rage", made a comment about caring about issues outside of your own like the nonsense of lowering school budgets in favour of building more prisons and condos, or exploitation of people in general – all that slavery shit – it's not enough to be a member of the Black, Brown or White crowd? Straight, Gay or Bi, but to also ask, before offering your name and possibly compromising your ethics to a cause, "what's your stance on capitalism, Palestine, poverty and social injustice?" The answer today would be, "not much. It's got nothing to do with sex, power and fineass bodies."

The concern of our bredren and sistren in struggle would seem all a bit more important than where a body will be spending gay pride or how nobody understands your bisexuality. Once the concern was to protect youth from the seduction of same sex expressions of affection. This was based on misinterpretation and trifling issues of Western religious thinking. However, now, with the agenda of the Gay community, as is the case with most communities, being to concentrate on power and acceptance at anyone's cost (down to an overwhelming vote for Alliance) what we should concern ourselves with is not the sexual seduction of folk of any age, but the disassociation from the events, struggles and concerns of the world as whole.

Most communities are built on exclusion. For this reason they have nothing better to do than play out rolls of power and domination over the underprivileged for the sake of economic slavery, a quick bump in the night and one more step toward gentrification. What is it when the only place for visible minorities and poor whites, in most communities, is that of turning themselves into a commodity for bored middle-classes and all their backers. What is it when poor folk are criminalized? What is it when the major concern of a Gay community is that of marriage, images in Hollywood, boy scouts and inter-generational relationships (pedophilia) and not poverty, homelessness, global war and the fact that most people can barely feed themselves? What

is it when art degenerates into autobiography, politically correct biography, image and issues perpetual sexual gratification?

It's called decadence. It's catering to the physical and mental propa-



ganda and an agenda. The preoccupation of the aesthetic or artifice over content is a carte blanche for fascism.

The over hype of "homophobia" is evidence of the disassociation of the Gay community with society as a whole. Apply Spike Lee's comments to this context: "If homosexuals don't think that people call them fags then they're just plain stupid."

We have a generation who have moved away from seeing homosexuality as a sexual act and have looked upon it as a general lack of character with issues focused on the trifling. So what is "fag" and/or "gay" now? – a people or an event which is considered useless and inane. The best bet would be to stop thinking in terms of racism and homophobia and to start to concentrate on the dangers of supremacy.

We have to turn away from identity politics and all the mainstream definitions and codes of manner which come along with them. It's best to attempt to achieve a new consciousness. Each one should start to look at each one for the content of our character instead of the label they have placed upon themselves. Each one should start sharing knowledge and fighting ignorance no matter what click you run with.

Rough Trade once sang that they would "give it all and more for a sexual outlaw". Most times, under these definitions, being an "outlaw" is something you could wear with a lot more honour and self respect.

The Great Bear Rainforest Agreement: Whose Victory?

A critical look at the proclaimed victory in "BC's" rainforests

On April 4th, 2001, the "Great Bear Rainforest Agreement" was proclaimed by government, industry, big enviros (Greenpeace, Sierra Club BC, Forest Ethics and RAN), and a select few First Nations Band Council representatives and community members. The media, government and enviros proclaimed victory for "BC's" rainforests and an end to the "War in the Woods." But is this really a victory for "BC's" rainforests? In short, **NO**. Was it a victory for the marketing and PR campaigns of government, industry and big enviros? **YES!** Once again, we see industry, the state, and a few professional enviros negotiating behind closed doors, deciding the fate of unceded Native land and pristine wilderness.

First, a little background. What is the "Great Bear Rainforest"? It is a name invented by environmental groups working to "protect" the temperate rainforest on the central and north coast of "BC", because they thought it was a catchy name and would attract people to the campaign. This land is unceded Native territory and is the largest contiguous temperate rainforest in the world, home to Grizzly bears, the Kermode (or Spirit) Bear, Wolves, Salmon, Eagles and many other endangered and threatened species. For the past 100 years, logging companies have ravaged the coast, obtaining tenure from the government to log on Native land.

The "Great Bear Rainforest Agreement" came out of the CCLCRMP (Central Coast Land & Coastal Resource Management Plan) and other negotiations, which were government processes to attempt to solve land and resource disputes and negotiate between big enviros and the logging industry. It was a 5 year long process and is still continuing until all of the decisions from this agreement are implemented. Despite what the greenwashed marketing spin said, the announcement on April 4th, was not a final decision or agreement, but was simply the announcement of a new stage of regional land use decisions.

The agreement established different "protection" strategies: it established 19 "protection" areas (which is a vague, not well defined protection status), put 69 pristine valleys under a 1-2 year moratorium until government and industry determine "ecosystem based logging plans," and designated other areas as First Nations lead areas (where supposedly band councils and in certain cases, Hereditary Chiefs, are to decide what happens on their land). In exchange, the 4 enviro groups signing the deal were to call off their Great Bear Rainforest campaigns, particularly their markets campaign (which had been somewhat successful at cancelling some contracts for "BC" wood).

One of the primary problems (of many) with this deal is that it does not recognize the inherent jurisdiction of Native people on the coast over their traditional territories. 97% of "BC" is unceded Native territory, meaning that no treaty has been signed giving the Government of BC or kkanada legal jurisdiction over these lands. The Great Bear Rainforest Agreement continues the tradition of genocide through land theft and denying Native people con-



trol over their land. In many protected areas under the jurisdiction of the BC or kkanadian government, Native people are denied their right to use their land for fishing, hunting, edible and medicinal plant gathering, and other cultural uses. It is particularly appalling (but not surprising) to see the enviros committing this act of genocide and legitimizing land theft. Greenpeace, for example, has signed numerous protocols with the Nuxalk Nation House of Smayusta and the Hereditary Chiefs it represents (whose territory is around Bella Coola on the Central Coast) stating that they will not make any decisions on Nuxalk land nor speak on behalf of the Nuxalk about their territory. Greenpeace and others have sponsored tours for Nuxalk Chiefs and people around Europe, the States, and Japan. Only two months prior to signing this agreement, Greenpeace had just signed a renewed protocol agreement, but they quickly forgot it and went behind the Nuxalk Nation to broker this deal. By signing this agreement, Greenpeace and the other enviros have shown that the sovereignty and culture of indigenous peoples is less important than these groups' environmental agendas.

This agreement works to cement control of multinational logging corporations over the forests. Now that the enviros have given the Green Stamp, the BC forest industry can claim around the world, "We've changed, we're doing things differently, we're environmentally friendly." Which is a bunch of bullshit!

The Annual Allowable Cut on the coast will only be reduced 15% in the short term and that reduction will most likely be made up elsewhere, in the Interior and the Northern Boreal forests, where there is less vocal opposition to logging. Clearcut logging in old growth forests is still the predominant logging method in "BC" (not that their supposed alternatives, partial cuts and variable retention, are much different). Multinational corporations, such as Weyerhaeuser, Interfor, Western Forest Products, and West Fraser, still control the majority of forest tenure. By signing this deal, the big enviros have ef-

(Continued on page 9)

BC Referendum: Hijacking the treaty process

The Squamish Nation is working through the third phase of a painfully slow six-phase treaty process. An agreement is many years away, but now the BC government is attempting to unravel the progress of the past decade.

Treaties are made between nations- in this case, Canada and the Squamish Nation. Now, the BC government apparently wants to co-opt some of that authority for itself. Squamish Chief Bill Williams says the referendum is aimed at pushing important issues off the table. "If they narrow the focus of the debate too much, the First Nations could walk out of the treaty negotiations," he predicted.

The Liberals are seeking a mandate for their regressive agenda. If they find one in the referendum results, the treaty process will be gutted. Gordon Campbell will shit-can self-government, fishing rights, land rights, and anything else he can justify. Hard-won victories will turn to dust and future treaties will have little to offer. No doubt many First Nations groups will decide their rights as nations have been denied, and the treaty process itself hijacked.

With the Liberals trying to interfere and pull the rug out from under the negotiators, the rights asserted by First Nations are in jeopardy. The best response is vocal opposition to the spoilers' plan.

A Fragile Truce: Sacred Land vs. Logging in the Elaho

The voices of the Squamish Nation have stopped the chainsaws in the ancient forests north of Squamish, BC, for now. In May 2001, the nation released a draft land-use plan called Xay Temixw, or Sacred Land. The 3000-member Squamish Nation

reached a consensus in spring after years of discussion and public meetings about land use. Five areas called Kwa kwayx welh-aynewx, or Wild Spirit Places, form the heart of the Sacred Land plan. These areas encompass the remaining ancient forest on Squamish land. "Wild Spirit Places have always been important to Squamish people for spiritual reasons," explained Chief Bill Williams, the Squamish Nation Band Council chairman for the last eight years. He said the nation is asking people to stay away from areas like the upper Elaho Valley, north of Lava Creek.

"We hope people will respect the request of the Squamish people, that these areas are set aside for the future. And future generations will only benefit if the Wild Spirit Places are left alone by everyone, Squamish and non-Squamish people alike," Chief Williams said. The nation is determined to protect these areas, and current activities in wilderness areas should have "little, if any impact."

In fact, last year's logging operations have left an enormous impact along the Elaho River north of Lava Creek. Despite mitigating factors like selective retention, wildlife tree patches and buffer zones, the Douglas Fir Loop grove has been stripped of its former lush, peaceful welcome. Loggers for International Forest Products (Interfor) chopped off a section of the Fir Loop Trail and selectively logged most of the red cedars, Douglas-firs and hemlocks between Lava Creek and Bear Bluffs. A handful of giant Millennium Firs still stand in the ravaged cutblock, some leaning at crazy angles, roots cut and trunks damaged by the logging. The Welcome Woman, a cedar statue placed on Bear Bluffs by the Squamish Nation last year, looks down on the devastation.

But since the draft Sacred Land plan was released, it appears Interfor has backed off logging in the upper

Elaho Valley. The company made only one foray into a Wild Spirit Place in 2001, using helicopters to clearcut part of an ancient forest on the west side of the Squamish River shortly after the draft plan was made public. Now, company spokesman Keith Rush will only say that Interfor is "studying" the Sacred Land plan.

The Squamish people are determined to protect the remaining ancient forests on their land. "Ninety-two percent of our territory is 'open for business,'" Chief Bill Williams said. Only eight percent is still untouched forest ecosystem. The rest has been developed, roaded, and opened to resource extraction. "Nine companies hold licenses to log in our territory," he said. "We're negotiating with them to limit and prohibit logging in the wild places."

The Sacred Land plan summarizes the Squamish Nation's goals, maps its land-use vision and quotes from hundreds of interviews with community members. The document represents a comprehensive vision for a future in which the Squamish Nation will have a major voice in managing the resources on its land. According to Chief Williams, the Nation's biggest challenge now is publicizing the land-use plan and gaining public acceptance for it. "People need to write to the Minister of Sustainable Resources, Stan Hagen, and urge the BC government to accept the Sacred Land plan," he added.

The new vision for the Squamish people includes plans for restoring and rehabilitating forest and stream ecosystems, increasing employment in resource management, and selective logging on parts of the territory. The way the forests are managed now, "three-quarters of our forest is between 2 weeks and 20 years old," said Chief Williams.

Read the draft Sacred Land report on the web at: www.squamish.net or call (604) 980-4553 for a copy and colour map.

The Squamish Nation is expected to release the final draft Sacred Land plan in 2002.



From the Frontlines of Kanada Updates on Indigenous Struggles

Sutikalh/Melvin Creek, St'at'imc Territory, "BC"

The snow is falling at Sutikalh, and the mountains have been spared from Ski Resort development for another year.

The St'at'imc have remained strong in

their stand for St'at'imc sovereignty and against the \$550 million ski resort that Al Raine and Nancy Greene-Raine want to build at Melvin Creek. On July 5th, a roadblock which was set up to stop logging trucks on Highway 97 was met with 70 RCMP officers, including 2 Emergency Response Teams. Seven people were arrested and are facing charges of "intimidation/blocking a highway." Their trial has started but has been delayed until the court can book more dates. The RCMP tore down a lean-to that was a welcome and information center for visitors to the camp. The RCMP continues to harass various members of the Sutikalh community both at Sutikalh and in neighbouring towns. They are continuing to build permanent dwellings at Sutikalh and welcome supportive visitors to their community. They need financial support and food (preferably dry/canned food.)

To send donations or for more information contact:

Sutikalh c/o Rosalin: Box 309, Mt. Currie,
Lil'Wat Territory, "BC, Kanada" V0N 2K0
Ph: (604)894-2400, Fax: (604)894-6841

La Loche, Dene Suline Territory, "Saskatchewan"

(for background see issue #5)

The Montgrand family and the Dene Suline of La Loche are not backing down in their fight against the Canadian government over their traditional territory. On November 26th, the Montgrand's and the Dene Suline were to meet with the Ministry of Environment (MOE) and the Premier of Saskatchewan. The Premier did not show up and the MOE once again did not produce documentation of a legal title to the Clearwater River Provincial Park. Another meeting has been scheduled but the Dene Suline are tired of the government's delay tactics and are promising to step up their resistance to the government by any means necessary.

Next summer they have plans to blockade tourism in the park and shut down the white water rafting on their river. The situation here has become quite tense with the RCMP showing little regard for the lives of the Dene Suline, so it is important that people pay attention to their struggle and keep aware of the actions of the government and the RCMP.

To give donations or for more info contact:

Skip Daniels Montgrand, (306)822-2550, Box 359,
La Loche, Saskatchewan, S0M 1G0

Cold Lake, Dene Suline Territory "Alberta"

(for background see issue #5)

The government has succeeded in passing a referendum to steal the Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range (PLAWR) from the Dene Suline of Cold Lake. On December 12th, people voted in favour of a deal giving the government ownership of the 4,500 square miles encompassing PLAWR, in exchange for 5000 acres and \$25.5 million (or about \$35 an acre). This deal had been supported by the Chief and Council who tried to whisk it past the people and succeeded. This has not stopped the Dene resistance to PLAWR and the NATO war machine. People are still occupying their territory at the entrance to PLAWR and asserting their title to their traditional territory. The camp is desperately in need of funds, cold weather equipment, technical gear (cameras, cell phone cards, etc.) and people to spread the word about what is happening on Dene Suline territory.

To give donations or for more info contact:

Dene Suline of Cold Lake, Box 8497
Cold Lake, "AB", Dene Suline Territory T0M 1M2
Cell: 780-812-0306 Phone: 780-639-4952

Burnt Church

The Mi'kmaq people of Burnt Church are determined to protect their people's ancient inherent right to fish and have utterly rejected any and all of the Canadian governments attempts to "legally" extinguish their rights and freedoms through "agreements". The 2001 Mi'kmaq Treaty Conflict resulted in a large deployment of government forces to wipe out the Mi'kmaq fishery by use of overwhelming force.

The government has deployed up to 40% more Department of Fisheries and Oceans officers and vessels, a larger RCMP presence, a purposely built RCMP Operational Center just off their reserve and twice as many paramilitary Emergency Response Teams. The government has taken over the nearby wharf and surrounded their reserve with RCMP vehicles. Burnt Church has few boats, no available funds, and are closed off by large daily government patrols. Despite all of this the Mi'kmaq have stood up, resisted and defended their rights and freedoms and continue to do so to this day.

To give donations or for more information contact:

James Ward, Commander, East Coast Warriors Society. (506)-776-5629

Please make any financial contributions payable to:

Burnt Church Treaty Defense Fund,
Bank of Nova Scotia,
139 Henry St., Miramichi, NB, E1V-2N5

Halfway River Nation, "Wonowon, BC"

For generations the Beaver People have lived in the territory now known as the Halfway First Nation. The language, culture and sustenance all come from the land. Now a literal army of oil and gas companies are poised to invade Halfway First Nation traditional lands. A total of 34 companies have applied for exploration and development permits in the past year.

Beginning on August 13th, 2001, the Halfway River Nation prevented access along the North Road, adjacent to the main hunting camp that lays directly in the path of the 23 km long proposed Petro Canada pipeline. If the pipeline is built it will destroy 4 out of 7 hunting camps along the North Road that have been used for generations. If built, elders fear that the Petro Canada pipeline will open up the area with more lateral or 'feeder' pipelines, roads, gas wells and establish access to hunting for non-native hunters on ATVs.

Since the government has finally decided to meet with the Halfway River Nation to discuss land claim issues to their territories, the blockades have been taken down. However do not be surprised if blockades reappear this summer due to failed negotiations with BC's Liberal government.

To give donations or for more info contact:

Chief Bernie Metecheah or Councillor Bobby Jackson
Halfway River First Nation, Box 59,
Wonowon, BC V0C 2N0
Ph: (250) 772-5058 Fax: (250) 772-5200

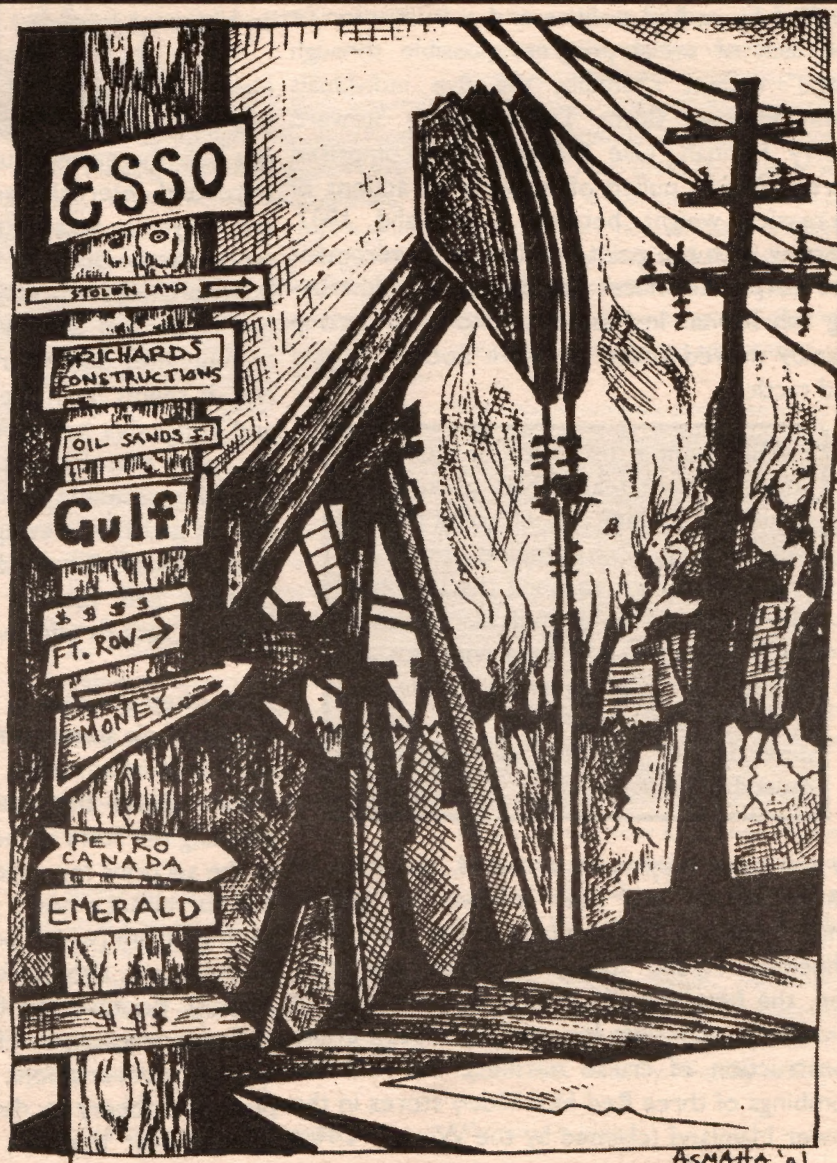
Charlie "Wolf" Smoke

Charlie "Wolf" Smoke is an Akwesane native from Cornwall Island, Ontario, who tried to cross the border into S. Dakota and was turned away for lack of citizenship but when handed over to Canada he was refused as well. Neither country, will recognize him as a citizen. Without a SIN number, or birth certificate both countries say he doesn't have the proper documents.

As a sovereign native, Wolf doesn't recognize the borders of either nation, and admits he isn't a citizen or registered native of Canada. Canada refuses his right to be with his family, and in his home where he has been living and working as a teacher for the last nine years. The immigration act says only three classes of people will be admitted into Canada: Canadian citizens, permanent residents, or people registered under the Indian Act. Lisa Big Eagle, Wolf's wife, says she'll ask the assembly of First Nations to intervene to protect her husband, who is not alone in the fight against illegitimate borders, considering many people have been split up from their families by the reserve systems put in place by Canada, and the USA.

After spending at least a month in jail, while the 2 countries bicker about where to put him, Wolf was release to a welcoming crowd in Regina after his \$1000 bail was paid by passing around a hat at the rally.

He is out on bail until one the nation states can make up their damn colonial minds (if they have minds).



Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla

Book review by KETA

Editor's note: Ann Hansen's quotes highlighted in the boxes are from a conversation with Peter Steven.

"They took up direct action not because they couldn't control their rage, but as part of a long term strategy to build a revolutionary movement that would be beyond the control of corporations and the state."

- Anne Hansen on the anarchist community of the 70s & 80s.

There is no question that North American left & anarchist movements are facing a serious crisis in coming to terms with not only responding to our state's imperialist war in the Middle East, but to the economic downturn providing our governments with the excuse to cut fast and hard at the services that hold together our fraying social safety net. Global social and environmental crisis is deepening rapidly, and while there are openings for change, progressive movements do not seem to have the maturity or strength to seize them effectively. At the same time, the past decade has seen a rise in militant (non-violent) direct action tactics being used by earth and animal liberationists and some social justice activists. The violence of capitalism is answered by actions that affect the financial operations and security of the corporations that grow on the misery of animals, people and the earth.

In this context, Anne Hansen's new book *"Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla"*, provides interesting insight into one of Canada's only (and often forgotten) guerrilla direct action groups. Her tale is the history of Direct Action (dubbed the Squamish 5 by the press after their arrests) - *the* radical East Vancouver group of the early eighties. Anti-war, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist - and willing to put their desire for change ahead of their personal safety and freedom.

Fuelled by radical politics and a frustration at the lack of social progress possible through "legal" activist channels, the five individuals (Ann Hansen, Brent Taylor, Doug Stewart, Gerry Hannah, Julie Belmas) who comprised Direct Action pulled off a series of actions of increasing weight between 1980 and 1982. Starting with the paint-bombing of government and corporate offices responsible for destroying fish habitat in Nisga'a territory, the group quickly moved ahead to more notable targets and tactics.

I really want a discussion of "going beyond." I want real debate about these issues of sabotage and of going beyond legal protest. Unfortunately, there has been almost no reasoned discussion of illegal actions or uncivil disobedience. But history has shown that violence will be used by the police and the state, and some in the opposition will always move in that direction as well. So we must discuss it.

By the time they were arrested, members of Direct Action had been involved in several small robberies, the bombing of the Dunsmuir-Cheekeye Hydro substation under construction, the bombing of Litton Industries plant in Ontario (responsible for part production in the construction of cruise missiles), and the fire bombings of three Red Hot Video stores in the Lower Mainland (claimed by the Wimmin's Fire

Brigade). Although all their actions were intended as non-violent (damaging only property, not human or animal lives), the Litton bombing did injure several people due to both judgement errors made by both Direct Action and the security officers at the plant.

...[the] Red Hot [bombing] was a special case. They carried the really violent videos. We firebombed those places because of the violence against women, not because they were simply pornographic. Red Hot specialized in explicit violence, gang rapes where the women were obviously not consenting. I believe in the effect of an increasing desensitization of people towards violence, and I believe that violent images of women are damaging.

In order to carry out actions undetected, they went underground, teaching themselves how to obtain false ID, how to boost dynamite from logging operations, and amassing a small weapons arsenal that they trained to use. For all intents, they intended to wage war on industries polluting the environment, dividing communities, and creating the mechanisms of death.

Hansen, one of the group's originators, and the one who received the longest jail sentence for their actions, tells not only the story of action planning and tactics, but also of the internal dynamics and political development of their underground cell. Hansen details her own inner conflict between living within social norms and living for what she truly believed in. And through additional fictional elements, she attempts to draw out motivations of other characters involved in their case including mainstream activists and the police. Although this book provides the most complete account of the events of that group produced to date, Hansen acknowledges, "the limitations of my memory, time and the available documents", recognizing that this is as much *her* story as an historical account.

Hansen's personalized account is what makes this book such an engaging read however, for not only the events, but the emotions, relationships and internal discussions and arguments are relayed in detail. For practicing activists, potential actionists and curious anarchists, this book provides a pretty intense look into what has been, and also what could be, if radical communities take instruction from their histories. It seems from the way Hansen introduces and concludes her story that she is doing this for more than historic record - there is some intention to educate and inspire a new generation of activists. Messages clear throughout the book include the need for education, training, practice and security culture in undertaking guerrilla actions effectively and safely.

As is often the case in memoirs, the limitations in this book stem from a lack of editing down to crucial information. Often Hansen gets into infinite detail that isn't necessary to understanding the story or her point. This gets worse in the sections for which she had extensive police surveillance notes and wire-tap transcripts to draw from (which occurs in the last chapters of the book, right before the arrest of Direct Action). Because she is able to use their surveillance transcripts, Hansen does so liberally, quoting conversations on the minutiae of a planned robbery in detail. This becomes a bit tedious near the end, since there are several

scenes where discussions are replayed that do not contribute to the overall telling.

In addition, composite characters Hansen creates in order to provide a face and voice to the cops and some of the liberal peace movement (Wayne Fraser and Rose Gibalter), seem stilted and unrealistic when held up to the stronger portraits that Hansen paints of her comrades, which makes for an uneven read. The mix of memoir and fiction is also a risky move as it can endanger the reader's ability to extract the actual events from the created. It is obvious that Hansen employed this technique in an attempt to give a more complete picture from all sides, which it does to some degree, even if flawed.

I am certainly not opposed to peaceful protest. Yet, I also believe that to make real social change people and movements must be prepared to go beyond. In some cases that means so-called political violence. We didn't see ourselves as terrorists. I prefer the term sabotage because that implies a strategic action, with references to economic issues, and not simply a violent reaction or lashing out in frustration. I don't agree with terrorism as a political tactic because it is morally wrong to punish the innocent for the crimes of their leaders. And it's not politically effective because fear does not enlighten people, but instead will often drive them to support even more reactionary actions by their leaders.

Overall, this book is a worthwhile read for anyone interested in the history and tactics of one of Canada's most notorious direct action groups. The best aspect of this book is the fact that Hansen remains unapologetic for her actions to this day. Rather than distancing herself from her past, Hansen accepts it and also her role in encouraging activist communities today. In concluding her memoir, Hansen sums up her current views on the need to use a diversity of tactics in activist struggle by saying,

There are many different forms of direct action, some more effective than others at different points in history, but in conjunction with other forms of protest, direct action can make the movement for change more effective by opening avenues of resistance that are not easily co-opted or controlled by the state... Remaining passive in the face of today's global human and environmental destruction will create deeper scars than those resulting from the mistakes we will inevitably make by taking action.

Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla is published by **Between the Lines Books** (www.btlbooks.com) and is available from the publisher and through **AK Press** (www.akpress.org)

keta@tao.ca

...[T]he most important error was in not realizing that without a revolutionary social movement in place urban guerrilla tactics won't work - there is no continuity. These links between social movements and radical actions are strategic political questions that must be addressed. Global warming and climate change are huge problems - nobody seems very concerned.

Arctostaphylos pungens by Mimi Kamp

GLOBALIZATION 9-11 & THE NATIONAL SECURITY STATE

By zig-zag

'Ultimately, neo-liberalism is going to cause social chaos in all nations, an international chaos which is going to increase the number of nations in conflict.'

Subcommandante Marcos, EZLN

Among the many lessons to be drawn from the events of 9-11 is that the world can change in a day. What should concern us now is the nature of this change & the potential for ever-greater conflict and repression in the years to come.

The immediate effects of 9-11 have been the 'War on Terrorism', consisting of military attacks against Afghanistan and the establishment of a National Security state armed with new powers, new anti-terrorist laws, and greatly expanded resources. While 9-11 may have come as a shock, the essential characteristics of the National Security state have been seen for some time now.

In his 1995 book *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform*, Gary Teeple observed that:

As neo-liberal policies have come to be adopted across the industrial nations, as they have started the process of dismantling the Welfare State and downsizing the size and role of government, one clear countertendency stands out – the expansion of coercive social control in almost every country....

The political dilemma for capital is how to maintain the trappings of democracy in the West, as crucial to social control, while economic inequality and long-term unemployment increase, chronic decline of living standards sets in, and the powers of national and local governments decline....

The future of social control, given the declining legitimacy of government and growing unemployment, is almost certainly going to rest increasingly on forms of state coercion. (Teeple, p122-9)

The dismantling of the Welfare State, with its origins in the post-World War 2 economic boom, had already begun by the late 1970s, and was fully underway by the '80s. At the same time there began an increasing trend towards repression, including the militarization of police forces, prison expansion, and a growth in security industries.

Throughout the '90s these trends continued and corresponded to a renewal of resistance & rebellion, beginning most notably with the Crisis of 1990, when over 4,500 Canadian soldiers were deployed against Indigenous people; the Los Angeles Rebellion of '92, with major riots throughout the US involving the deployment of National Guard units; the 1995 confrontations between Indigenous people & heavily-armed police at Gustafsen Lake and Ipperwash; and culminating in the 1999 anti-WTO riots in Seattle, where the imagery of riot police & tear gas came to be associated with Globalization itself (and which contributed to a growing anti-globalization resistance throughout the G-7 nations, accompanied by an escalation in use of force, including police opening fire on demonstrators in W. Europe 2001).

These flashpoints have occurred amidst an ongoing decline in living standards for the most excluded & marginalized, even while other sectors benefited immensely from a decade of economic expansion & neo-liberalism (i.e., NAFTA).

Today, the impact of 9-11 has furthered ongoing economic decline in the US (and therefore the world). In the fall of 2000, the US was hit by rising energy costs and the collapse of hi-tech stocks. The results were massive layoffs in various industries, including car production, metal, and electrical.

Following 9-11 & the destruction of a centre of the world

financial system (the WTC), the US saw even sharper decline; in October 2001 there were 415,000 job losses. Airlines, insurance corporations, & tourism related industries have declined, as have overall production & consumerism. This negative impact has spread to other economies, including Canada.

On Halloween, Oct 31/01, the Canadian dollar fell to an all-time low of 62 cents US. In November, Canada 3000, the second largest airline in Canada, declared bankruptcy. These and other job losses reflect the negative impacts of a declining US economy & increased security measures affecting transportation and Canadian exports to the US (initiating new debates on a single N. American currency, along with the establishment of a N. American 'security perimeter').

Despite cuts in interest rates, despite pumping more money into the economy, despite measures to restore consumer confidence and campaigns to increase consumerism (a "patriotic" duty), economists predict the economic situation to worsen.

As billions of dollars are redirected to national security and the War on Terrorism, social services are being cut even more, including cuts to welfare, low-income housing, health-care, public transit, and minimum wage levels (as has occurred in BC). The primary areas where economic growth is expected are those involved in military and security industries (including prisons). These new developments make Teeple's analysis especially relevant, for they signal that the "long-term unemployment [and] chronic decline of living standards" is now set to expend and deepen.

Today, technology has vastly expanded the capabilities for surveillance, repression, and control. Just as technology has been a driving force behind globalization, it is also used as a



means of repressing those sectors which resist and/or which have no place in the new economic order.

Mass-media & communications systems (TV, cable, fibre-optics, internet, fax, cellular, etc.), computer systems, bank & credit cards, CCTV/video surveillance, electronic surveillance, satellites, night-vision, personal identification/smart cards, etc., have greatly expanded the overall capabilities of the state/security forces to identify, locate, track, monitor, and control radical social elements & persons.

When reviewing the pattern & trends of state control & repression since the 1970s, the role of technology, along with the effects of 9-11, it is clear that we are entering a new phase in the evolution towards total social control.

Corporate Fascism & Globalization

By definition, fascism is a form of government in "which property is privately owned, but in which all indus-

try and labour are regulated by a strong national government, in which all opposition is rigorously suppressed." (*Gage Canadian Dictionary*, p440)

Historically, fascism was the result of economic crises which required state intervention to control & repress the population (i.e., Italy, Germany, & Japan in the 1920s and '30s). It was a means of destroying rebellious movements internally, while launching wars of expansion. For these reasons fascism has an inherent tendency towards militarization and national security.

Today, globalization has established a form of global governance which reflects essential characteristics of fascism. Under such a model, the national state is responsible for control & repression at a domestic level, while regulations & policies are established through international bodies (i.e., the G-7, the UN, WTO, etc.).

The purpose of these national & international forms

of governance are to create the most favourable conditions for capitalism (i.e., to regulate industry, labour, & trade), while suppressing opposition both domestically as well as internationally. On a global level, the military forces of the US, NATO, & UN Peacekeepers are used to enforce compliance on national governments & populations, and to ensure continued access to resources & markets.

This form of control & governance has been referred to as corporate fascism.

Today, the US is the only nation on earth capable of enforcing its will on a global level, in the interests of transnational capital (based primarily in the US and its allies in the G-7). Through its vast military forces, including aircraft carriers, long-range bombers & missiles, air-to-air refuelling tankers, marine forces, and airborne divisions, the US is able to project its military strength to every region of the globe.

US expansion occurs not only through military means but also economically. NAFTA and the proposed Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) are forms of US expansion, as is US corporate control of resource industries in Canada (facilitated through NAFTA).

Domestically the US has seen an increased trend towards a police state, arising from the 'War on Drugs' of the '80s and '90s, along with new anti-terrorist laws (i.e., following the Okalahoma City Bombing). These and other examples have greatly expanded police power & militarization. Many US government departments now have their own SWAT teams (i.e., the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Bureau of Housing, Drug Enforcement Agency, etc.), as do all cities, counties, and towns with population over 50,000. In 2001, the US prison population reached 2 million with the highest rate of imprisonment per capita in the world.

As a result of 9-11 this police state has been extended through a Homeland Defense agency and the new *USA Patriot Act*, along with military occupation of transportation facilities including airports. Just as in Nazi Germany, the ideological control of the population has created an overall consensus from the population that such measures are necessary.

While Nazi Germany sought to establish itself as a global power during World War 2, the US already dominates the international economic, political, and military system. In fact, the IMF, World Bank, and United Nations were all set up after World War 2, primarily by the US (the only nation then capable of establishing such institutions). It is this international form of governance which facilitates the process of globalization, including the establishment of a global system of control & repression.

This was reflected in the emergency G-20, IMF, and World Bank Summit held in Ottawa, November 16-17, 2001. Meeting under the theme of Globalization, Terrorism and the Global Economy, the G-20 summit called for new levels of international cooperation and coordination. The meeting was used to further the adoption of UN resolutions against terrorism, including special emphasis on financial security & terrorist funding. All 183 members of the IMF agreed to the G-20 'action plan and set a deadline of February, 1/02 for implementation.

All of this underscores the symbiotic relationship between corporate expansion, global governance, and the National Security state, the results of which are global corporate fascism. This fascist system is based in the G-7, and the centre of it is the United States of America.

Although we sit and watch these developments seemingly powerless to stop them, it is the uncertainty & conflict of the future which should give us hope. For out of uncertainty and conflict arises change and the potential for rebellion. This is seen throughout history, and is well understood by the ruling class. Based on their own analysis of the future, the rulers are clearly preparing for ever-greater social conflict.

Canada: Anti-Terrorism Act

The declared strategy of the US-led War on Terror is to target the Command, Communications, and Control (C3) of the 'terrorist network', as well as its infrastructure & resources. A vital part of this is the identification & location of persons involved. This overall strategy is also reflected in new "anti-

THE FBI IN CANADA

The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation says it has asked Congress for more money to increase its permanent presence in Canada to prevent terrorist attacks and deter cross-border crime. The special agents, known as legal attaches, would exchange information with Canadian law-enforcement agencies and aid in terrorism, drug-trafficking and fraud investigations being conducted on both sides of the border.

Canadian and American law-enforcement officials have been working together for years, but their relationship has intensified since the Sept. 11. The FBI launched the largest investigation in its history following the devastating terrorist hits, deploying 4,000 agents and 3,000 support personnel to every corner of the globe.

In the Toronto region, FBI agents have supplied a special anti-terrorist unit of police investigators with intelligence on terrorism suspects living in Canada. FBI offices are housed in the U.S. embassy in Ottawa and the U.S. consulate in Vancouver. Each is staffed by at least one agent. Two FBI agents are also currently on temporary assignment with anti-fraud task forces investigating bogus Canadian telemarketing companies that target senior citizens, mostly in the United States. One FBI agent is based in Montreal and the other is stationed in Vancouver.

Aside from its Canadian operations, the FBI runs offices in 43 countries on six continents. Officials were tight-lipped about the number of extra agents they're requesting for Canadian postings. They also refused to reveal the exact number of staff members currently working in Canada. The RCMP operates a liaison office in Washington but the Mounties would not say how many people work there, citing security concerns. Since they're legally outside their jurisdiction, U.S. law-enforcement agents working in Canada can only assist police and can't play an active role in investigations.

"The FBI has no peace officer status in Canada," RCMP spokesman Kevin Fahey said from Ottawa. "When the RCMP request something of them, they provide a support role." But Fahey said the agents aren't monitored around the clock to ensure they don't make phone calls to witnesses or track down suspects on their own. "Canada's a pretty free country," Fahey added.

CAUTION!!

COLORED PEOPLE

OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,

You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and advised, to avoid conversing with the Watchmen and Police Officers of Boston,

For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR & ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as

KIDNAPPERS AND Slave Catchers,

And they have already been actually employed in KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY, and the Welfare of the Fugitives among you, Shun them in every possible manner, as so many HOUNDS on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.

Keep a Sharp Look Out for KIDNAPPERS, and have TOP EYE open.

April 24, 1851

terrorist" laws being drafted in both the US & Canada, which reveals the domestic-international scope of the campaign.

Currently proposed as Bill C-36, Canada's new *Anti-Terrorism Act* has been described as a "massive 171-page bill" with 146 new provisions and numerous changes to existing legislation.

The proposed Bill, expected to be passed before the end of 2001, is based on various UN Conventions related to terrorism which Canada is a signatory to. These include the *Suppression of Terrorist Financing* and *Suppression of Terrorist Bombing* Conventions. Along with greater coordination between national security agencies, these conventions reveal the international character of the National Security state model.

According to the Canadian Department of Justice, this Act "creates measures to identify, prosecute, convict, and punish terrorist groups," and "provides new investigative tools to law enforcement and national security agencies."

Hon. Elinor Caplan (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Lib.): Mr. Speaker, the new immigration and refugee protection act is a complete overhaul of immigration and protection systems in the country. For the member's information, in the year 2000-01, 8,836 individuals were detained in Canada. [Detentions by immigration police; and durations vary from a day to the entire year.]

According to the proposed Bill, terrorist activity is defined as an action that "is taken or threatened for political, religious or ideological purposes and threatens the public or national security by killing, seriously harming or endangering a person causing substantial property damage that is likely to seriously

harm people or by interfering with or disrupting an essential service, facility, or system."

The Act permits the designation of groups/individuals whose actions meet the definition of terrorism as "terrorist groups." This definition and designation forms the basis for new offences, including:

- To knowingly collect or provide funds, either directly or indirectly, in order to carry out terrorist acts. Canadian courts are given jurisdiction even if the offence is continued outside Canada. Maximum sentence: 10 years.
- To knowingly participate in, contribute to or facilitate activities of a terrorist group. This participation or contribution itself does not have to be a criminal offence and includes recruiting members of the group. Max. Sentence for participation and contribution: 10 years. Max. Sentence for facilitation: 14 years.
- To instruct anyone to carry out a terrorist act or activity on behalf of a terrorist group (a "leadership" offence). Max. Sentence: Life imprisonment.
- To knowingly harbour or conceal a terrorist. Max. Sentence: 10 years.

In addition, any indictable offence under and Act of Parliament that is done for the benefit of, at the direction of, or in association with a terrorist group, carries a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. An offender convicted of any indictable offence that is also a terrorist activity would be liable to life imprisonment.

The Act would make it

easier to remove or deny charitable status to those who support terrorist groups through changes to the *Income Tax Act*.

New offences are also included as part of changes to the *Official Secrets Act* to "counter intelligence-gathering" and unauthorized communication of special information, along with a 'preparatory acts' offence, which would make it illegal to prepare to commit any of the above acts. Its new title will be *Security of Information Act*.

- The *Canada Evidence Act* will also be amended to "ensure protection of classified information" from being disclosed in court. The effect of these changes will be to severely limit access to government information under the guise of national security.

Other important changes to the *Criminal Code* will include:

- the ability to force individuals with relevant information to an ongoing investigation of a terrorist crime to appear before a special court to disclose that information.
- a new preventative arrest power, and the ability to impose conditions for release (suspects can be held up to 72 hours without being charged and without access to legal counsel).
- the ability to take and store DNA samples from individuals charged with terrorist offences.

As in the US, national security agencies such as CSIS and the CSE will be given expanded powers and resources for surveillance of phones, faxes, Internet, and email. Canada will also sign the Council of Europe Convention on Cyber-Crime, including offences for computer hacking, terrorist financing using computer networks, and interference of computer systems.

Along with increased resources & personnel for military, intelligence, and police, the Canadian Forces is also seeking to expand its Joint Task Force 2 special anti-terrorist group to 1,000 (from its current est. strength of 250).

National Security Models in Western Europe

"Power realizes itself in time and space, it is not something abstract. Control would not be possible if police did not exist, if prisons did not exist."

Alfredo M. Bonanno

While anti-terrorist laws are new concepts to North America, for the rest of the world they are already routine.

In the Third World, fascist military regimes and police states terrorize and repress their domestic populations (usually with the support & funding of the US and Western powers). But the models of national security now being constructed in N America more closely resemble those found in W. Europe due to their similarities as advanced industrialized nations (G-7).

In fact, the *Anti-Terrorism Act* set to be passed in Canada is based on similar legislation already existing in the UK and other W. European states. That this National Security model is now being established in North America reaffirms the evolutionary & progressive stages by which social control has extended (i.e., the globalization of the National Security state).

UK Terrorism Act 2000

This Act defines terrorism to include violence against people, damage to property, endangering life, threats to the health and safety of a section of the population and interference or disruption to electronic systems.

New offences include being a member of,

supporting, or wearing the uniform of a banned organization. Any action taken for the benefit of a banned organization is automatically deemed terrorist, including speaking at a meeting at which a member of a banned organization also speaks. All these offences carry a potential 10 year prison sentence.

Fundraising for a banned organization and the ability to seize such funds and property are also covered in this Act.

Security forces are given greater powers to impose cordons and to perform searches of property. Their ability to stop and search people is expanded, and the new law reduces a person's rights on arrest. Police can hold a person for up to seven days, and for two days without access to a lawyer.

Northern Ireland

While the UK is one of the more advanced national security states with widespread CCTV video surveillance of public space & streets, computerized data systems and riot control techniques, most of its repressive functions were first developed in Northern Ireland.

"Plastic bullets, CS gas, riot shields, armoured personnel carriers, water cannons, and roadblocks have all been piloted first in the six counties before being imported to the British mainland. And the new Terrorism Act is no exception - what was originally temporary legislation to deal with 'the troubles' is now being made permanent and being extended to cover a wider range of people" ("State of Terror," *Do or Die*, No. 9, p.55).

The new UK Terrorism Act replaces both the 1974 *Prevention of Terrorism Act* (PTA) and the 1973 *N. Ireland Act*. The PTA was enacted by the Labour Party as a "short-term" emergency measure, but successive governments retained it.

Over the past 25 years, these two acts have led to widespread human rights abuse in the UK, imprisoning innocent people and detaining thousands of mainly Irish people.

While held for up to 7 days under the PTA, those detained were routinely tortured through beatings and sleep deprivation while being interrogated. Some broke down and signed confessions or made statements against others.

Among the first to be charged and convicted under the PTA was Paul Hill of the Guildford 4, who was wrongly jailed for a bombing and imprisoned for 15 years.

Despite this (and other cases such as the Birmingham Six), the vast majority of people stopped and searched, detained, etc. were eventually released without charge. Less than 7% of the 5,000 people arrested in the first 7 years of the PTA

were even charged, let alone convicted.

"Despite what the government said at the time, the original PTA was not intended to convict people or prevent bombings. It was intended to prevent the Irish community in Britain from expressing support for a united Ireland. This new Terrorism Act will likely be used in a similar way - they will use the stop and search powers of the new Act for 'dragnet' low-level intelligence gathering - and general intimidation and harassment. Leon Britain, the former Home Secretary, said as much of the old PTA in 1985. 'The objective of the exercise is not just to secure convictions but to secure information.'

"The other primary aim of the (PTA) was clear. Terrorize the non-political population - mothers & fathers, aunts & uncles... and you destabilize and marginalize the political movement, because 'ordinary' people will distance themselves... or worse, they will betray friends they think are involved." (*Do or Die*, No. 9 p.56)

Germany

In Germany, section 128a is the main anti-terrorism law and deals with formation of terrorist groups and support. It was passed in 1976 during a time of urban guerrilla struggle, and is today used to criminalize and attack all radical opposition, including Kurdish groups, squatters, anti-nuclear, anti-fascist, and anarchist.

"Organizing a public discussion, printing hunger strike communiqués (by political prisoners) or demanding that they be granted the status of political prisoners all became the crime of "supporting terrorism." In fact, of the 3000 investigations from 1980-88, almost 90% referred to support, not membership, of a terrorist organization.... The conditions of public political discussion was substantially affected by the almost permanent legal hassle the radical press faced when dealing with militant actions, prison, hunger strikes, and so on.

"Only 3% of all investigations in the 1990s led to convictions - in other words, 129a was simply used to get a better picture of political scenes and intimidate them by tapping phones, raiding apartments & offices or social centres." (*Do or Die*, No.9 p. 57)

In reviewing the use of anti-terrorist laws in the UK, Northern Ireland, and Germany, it's clear their primary use is for intelligence gathering, the basis of all counter-insurgency operations.

Other uses are to intimidate, disrupt and harass indi-

CANADA'S COUNTER TERRORISM FORCE: JTF-2

The Joint Task Force 2 (JTF2) is Canada's highly secretive Counter-Terrorist Force. JTF2 was created in April 1993, after the RCMP's Special Emergency Response Team (SERT) lost the "duty" of counter-terrorism to the Canadian Armed Forces. The unit currently consists of approximately 250 soldiers. There is \$200 million in funds pending, to help fight the "war on terrorism", expanding the units size to 1000 members. The budget for the group in its first 2 years was just under \$20 million a year but by 2001 they were receiving close to \$40 million annually.

The JTF2 trains in the remote Canadian Arctic and mountain regions, as well as in the hulls of old jetliners that are used as a practice ground for hostage scenarios. JTF2 is very similar to other Counter-Terrorist groups like the US Delta Forces, Rangers, the UK's SAS, and the Italian Carabinieri's GIS. The only thing that differentiates them from these groups is that there is virtually no information on their his-

tory or operational activities. The Government does not hide the fact that they exist but when questioned on the group's equipment or whereabouts it will not confirm information on JTF2. Most information on them comes from a training video that was released to corporate media sources. Major Rick Jones was quoted in the Canadian Press in 1995 as saying, "We don't like to talk about it [JTF2] because we are not going to tip our hand to the unit's capabilities, those the unit is designed to counter could use that kind of information."

Who exactly is the unit designed to counter?

Anyone who poses a threat to "National Security" whether it be extreme Islamic Fundamentalists, of the likes of Osama Bin Laden, native rebels reoccupying their traditional lands, or a group of anarchist rioting at a anti-capitalist demonstration. Reports - obviously unconfirmed - have JTF2 being deployed in Victoria, BC at the Commonwealth Games in 1994, in Bosnia in 1995 for a rescue

mission of Canadian soldiers taken hostage by Serbian Forces, as well as at the 1995 G-7 meetings in Halifax.

1995 was quite a year for Canada's super commandos. Besides being deployed in Bosnia, and Halifax, the JTF2 was also deployed to assist the RCMP with their largest "police" operation ever during the "Gustafsen Lake Stand-off", where native rebels were re-occupying their traditional lands. Rebels at the camp reportedly saw "green eyes" (night-vision goggles) in the woods and some saw "red dots" (laser sighting) on their chests. JTF2 was also on the ground in Kosovo as part of the NATO air-strikes. It is alleged that they were most likely being used to "ground illuminate" targets with lasers, helping guide missiles launched from Canadian Cf-18's (and possibly other NATO forces.)

More recently the unit was deployed to Quebec City in April 2001 for the Summit of the Americas meeting. No reports of how they were used but they have been known to act as bodyguards for Canada's heads of state, so certainly they were protecting the asses of the ruling classes from the masses of rebels fighting on the



viduals, groups, and movements, as well as to isolate and marginalize the movements from the general population.

It is the potential of isolation of a group that is most dangerous. Once a group or movement is defined as "terrorist", and if this label is successfully attached, it lays the groundwork for greater repression, including imprisonment and even deadly force.

In the process of criminalizing a movement by attaching the terrorist label, the corporate mass media is an essential tool used by the government and its security forces.

"the power to name, label, and define terrorism is especially relevant... since terrorism is so distant and beyond the average person's experience. It is a case... where the media wield exceptional power over popular conceptions of reality" (Farmen- "Terrorism and the Mass Media: A Systemic Analysis of a Symbiotic Process." *Terrorism*, Ed. Connor Gearty, p. 103).

Effective Responses to Anti-Terrorist Laws

The UK's *Terrorism Act 2000* replaces the *Criminal Justice Act* (CJA) of 1994. While still under debate as a Bill, various social movements began a campaign to have it defeated. In this case, because the CJA so clearly affected a diverse number of movements (i.e., squatters, travellers, ecological, animal liberation, anti-capitalist), opposition was broad and served to kick-start a new phase of direct action movements.

This opposition was layered, from those who sought to portray themselves as non-threatening (i.e., "we're not terrorists, we're nice people"). To those who portrayed the CJA as meaning any 'illegal' actions would be harshly repressed.

In their experience under the CJA, UK activists found that, "[p]arts of the Act served merely to legitimize what the police were already doing and parts of it gave them new powers they have not yet used." (*Do or Die*, No. 9, p. 50)

Although the new UK *Terrorism Act* clearly defines direct action as coming under its scope, because it is not so clearly directed against social movements as the CJA was, UK activists face a far greater challenge in organizing resistance against it.

Some have concluded that their primary defense against such legal repression is a broad underlying public support and/or sympathy among the population. While the state will proceed with campaigns to undermine and isolate this support, activists in the UK see their best response as being to monitor use of the new anti-terrorism laws, engage in

public education around it, but otherwise to continue on with their present activities.

In Canada, there has already been debate on whether the new anti-terrorism laws might be applied against Native blockades and occupations, or anti-globalization protests. These forms of action clearly "disrupt" or "interfere" with services, and at times result in property damage (i.e. anti-FTAA riots in Quebec City, 2001).

Vancouver lawyer James Aldridge, a UBC professor and specialist in constitutional & administrative law, predicts that Bill C-36 "would almost certainly include an unlawful strike by a trade union, a blockade of a bridge by a First Nation or environmental group, or the breaching of a security fence by anti-globalization protesters" (*The Province*, November 14/0).

In order to counter such concerns, provisions in the Act state that "lawful protests" and strikes will not be included. As well, debate about a 'Sunset Clause', a 3-5 year limit on the Anti-Terrorism Act, has also occurred.

While these are clearly meant to dampen criticism and concerns about the new laws, there is no reason to believe that, at some point, social movements who engage in resistance actions will not become potential targets of the Anti-Terrorism Act.

For many years now, social movements & organizations in Canada have been listed as terrorist groups and threats to national security. RCMP & CSIS reports routinely list indigenous, ecological and anti-globalization groups in their 'threat assessments'. Surveillance and infiltration of such groups has become common, including even mainstream organizations such as Greenpeace, Council of Canadians, Amnesty International, and others who speak out against government policies. Even the Raging Grannies, a senior citizen's satire group that sings about social injustice, has been a target of investigation.

Since the anti-APEC protests of 1997, police repression of social activists has only increased; use of force to disperse demonstrations has become routine and has escalated to the use of thousands of riot police, tear gas, rubber bullets, and armoured personnel carriers (as seen in Seattle '99, and Quebec 2001).

In the months leading up to the anti-FTAA protests, opponents of globalization were visited by CSIS & RCMP, and in Quebec City organizers were arrested for handing out leaflets. US citizens travelling to attend meetings or protests were



streets. Currently they are Canada's leading contribution to the US' "War on Terrorism", in Afghanistan. The mountains of Northern Afghanistan have fairly similar terrain to JTF2's training grounds in the Canadian arctic and mountain regions which makes them more suitable than the US Special Forces (who mainly practice in highly built up cities) or the UK's SAS (who have a history of training in South East Asian jungles.) They could very well be pinpointing bombing targets with lasers like they were in Kosovo or be sitting somewhere in the mountains waiting to hit Osama Bin Laden right between the eyes with a bullet from a high-powered sniper rifle.

In the future JTF2 could possibly be deployed to Kananaskis, Alberta in June 2002 for the next G-8 meetings. This is quite likely since many power elites will be gathered in a remote forested region (similar to their training grounds) with large numbers of dissenters trying to get at them. Who knows, maybe they will be used similar to the way the Italian Carabinieri were used at the last G-8 meetings and beat the crap out of, or worse

yet, waiting to bust a cap in some anarchist ass? At this time it is highly unlikely that a scenario like that would occur, however it is quite possible if the threat was large enough.

The Other War

As the state oppression comes down harder after the events of 9/11/2001, and as the anti-capitalist movement grows in strength and numbers it would be likely that the JTF2 will be used at home more often and not just for international military campaigns. This is especially true if more people from the movement decide to bring the war home and use greater attacks against the state.

If marshal law is declared at up coming demonstrations in Canada, you can count on members of the JTF2 to be there. They will be there with their high-tech equipment and sniper rifles, side by side with the RCMP's Emergency Response Team and other military personal, clearing the streets of rebelling dissenters and returning "order" to the cities. One could also expect to see them at any future stand-off between the government and indigenous peoples reclaiming

their lands.

One may feel threatened by this (and that is reasonable) but for anyone who is seriously seeking full-scale revolution should fully understand the tools that the state will use to defend its control. Those tools will be even more violently oppressive once the movement grows into a serious threat. There will have to be some people in the movement who are trained in combat skills and wilderness survival, similar to units as the JTF2, or the state will crush the revolution. However, the weapons of the movement will not be as high tech or as plentiful as the state's. This means a "poor (wo)man's war" will have to be fought with unconventional warfare tactics. Unless we truly know our enemy there will be no way to defeat them. When the governments escalate in force, the movement will also have to escalate in force. People have to get it through their heads that the capitalists will not give up without a bloody battle. Some people who fought back have already died and in the future more are going to die. To think otherwise is sheer stupidity.

New Anti-Terrorist Legislation in Canada

Since Sept 11th the state security apparatus is accelerating and intensifying both the scale and forms which it's repression takes. It must be realised that these developments are not new nor are they unprecedented. In the United States, the *Patriot Act* (signed shortly after the attacks) was already written and available to congress. In Canada the anti-"terror" legislation centred around Bill C-36, although newly drafted, mirrors previous legislation (*War Measures Act*), new legislation which was already in the works (*Organized Crime Bill*) and similar legislation in the EU. What is being seen now is not the effects of new policy responses to new threats but a process of uncovering. This uncovering lets the rabid and fascistic core of the state loose, this core so well hidden and masked under democratic ideology and rhetoric, now made visible.

On December 18th the anti-terrorism package (centred around C-36 and the organized crime bill C-24) received royal assent, and will come into force at an undisclosed time in 2002. [For the texts of these bills see www.parl.gc.ca]. These two groups of law serve to restructure police powers in Canada, but are not unprecedented. What is perhaps unprecedented is the scope of these changes and the autonomy it gives police agencies to act outside of any review.

The first of these bills is C-24, which was introduced in the spring of 2001; primarily to combat the Quebec biker wars. Within this law the definitions of criminal organization are extended (e.g., can now be composed of as few as three members), in a manner similar to those which appeared in C-36 regarding terrorist organizations. These definitions are quite loose and can include people unknown to the accused and/or prosecutors (examine the early '80s British trials which targeted activists for "committing conspiracy with persons unknown"). Police powers for search and seizure are increased and criminal charges which can be tied to "criminal organizations" receive more serious sentences upon conviction (either committing, attempting, conspiring, counselling, aiding and abetting etc.).

However, the most ominous component of C-24 is its provisions relating to undercover police officers. These changes effectively give the police—or civilians under police orders—immunity from prosecution for the commission of crimes in the course of their duties. The legislation clearly states that in the course of their duties it will often be the case that police will have to violate the law in order to secure convictions of criminals. Examples of this are the arsons the RCMP carried out in Quebec during the FLQ investigations—which eventually led to the creation of CSIS—or the recent police arson of oil installations in Northern Alberta in an attempt to frame Wiebo Ludwig. There are few exceptions to this immunity which are "(a) the intentional or criminally negligent causing of death or bodily harm to another person; (b) the wilful attempt in any manner to obstruct, pervert or defeat the course of justice; or (c) conduct that would violate the sexual integrity of an individual."

With these new powers the police are theoretically in a position to carry out any type of action they wish to frame or incriminate activists. Unlike previous provisions of this kind there is no need for a judges' approval for illegal actions, only the approval of a 'senior' officer.

Like the *Organized Crime Bill* C-36 extends police powers and sentencing in numerous instances. Within the Bill itself there are a number of key provision. Perhaps the most important are the clauses for preventative detention and compelling testimony. Preventative detention gives the police the ability to detain people for up to 72-hours without laying charges. During this detention period it must be assumed that the main activity they will pursue is attempts at intelligence gathering. With the time available there is ample opportunity for sleep-deprivation tactics and physical and/or mental pressure, to be applied. During this time it appears that the detained person still has a right to contact and retain counsel, how this will work in practice remains to be seen.

The section of C-36 that compels testimony lays out the powers of a judge to order a person, believed to possess information, to appear in court. This also includes the powers for the judge to order (compel) testimony, and order the presentation objects believed to be in the possession of that person. Failure to appear on this order is cause for issuing an arrest warrant and forced participation. Once in the court the judge can then order that the Attorney-General's questions are answered. Failure to co-operate with these hearings can result in a contempt of court charge. In Canada there is no set maximums for contempt charges. In effect this new law says "testify or rot until you do." What this means for targets of the new legislation (immigrants, refugees, political activists, etc.) is a more powerful and threatening intelligence gathering technique similar to grand juries in the American experience.

In looking at the US experience it is important to educate early and broadly as to the dangers of speaking to an agents of the state. This is true not only for the person called to testify (who's testimony is exempted from being directly used in prosecution against them), but also for anyone who they give any evidence regarding. Again, the main objective of such proceedings is intelligence gathering, and any information obtained will be used at some future point. [See final page of supplement for information on resisting grand juries.]

In all of this the state attempts to further seize power and extend its legal panopticon. However, it must be realised that there is no all seeing eye and no system of total control. Resistance is possible, not only that, but it is fertile.

stopped at the border, detained, and refused entry.

On the day prior to mass protests, the Germinal group was arrested en route to Quebec City and found to have smoke grenades and Thunderflashes. They were the result of a six month long investigation involving a police infiltrator. During the actual protests, police fired over 900 rubber bullets and 6,000 canisters of tear-gas over a two-day period. Numerous protesters were seriously injured, while over 460 were arrested and many detained for two days without access to legal council. In addition, preventative arrests were carried out against organizers prior to the main demonstrations.

In response to this growing resistance, the RCMP established a Public Order Program in May 2001. Its purpose is to conduct training and develop tactics, strategies and weapons systems for riot control. In addition, it is now routine to arrest protesters under the vague charge of 'obstruction' and impose conditions for release (i.e., not to associate with other protesters, not to camouflage clothing, not to be in certain areas).

We must ask ourselves why now, in the debate about anti-terrorism laws, such groups are suddenly no longer considered as threats to national security?

Just as the N. Ireland experience with the PTA demonstrates, even when the rulers declare such legislation as only "temporary" measures, there exists no means by which such statements can be transformed into reality.

At the present time, the primary targets of repression arising as a result of 9-11 have been Arab nationals and Muslims. As of November 2001, over 1000 people have been detained in the USA, with scores of others in Canada and across Europe. In early November, the US released a list of 83 businesses and organizations allegedly linked to Islamic 'terrorist' groups, freezing their funds and seizing property.

Yet, the pretext of anti-terrorism was used as recently as 1995 during the Gustafsen Lake standoff in BC, where Indigenous rebels confronted an overwhelming and heavily-armed RCMP force. The police (with media collaboration) successfully attached the terrorist label and were able to undermine and isolate public support, even among Indigenous people.

This was achieved by carrying out a self-proclaimed "smear and disinformation" campaign which included illegally releasing juvenile criminal records of persons alleged to be in the camp; detaining the group's lawyer and throwing him in the mental ward for "psychological evaluation," portraying the group as "terrorists, renegades, squatters, and cultists," and fabricating shooting incidents.

This recent example shows the true intent of the state and its security forces: to repress & destroy social movements & sectors of the population which engage in resistance, using any means necessary. To think that, in the post-9-11 climate of today, the state will lessen its attack on forms of social resistance, when armed with new repressive powers, is naïve & dangerous.

While the primary targets of the War on Terror are Arab nationals and Muslims, we know that present conditions are subject to rapid and violent change, with far-reaching implications. Our analysis of the state & its security forces, based on recent history & patterns, clearly shows its willingness to fabricate & create incidents in order to create a pretext for repression.

At the same time, methods must be found by which repression can be legitimized in the minds of the citizens, and this is the purpose of new anti-terrorist laws.

It has been noted that the state's response to resistance is based on two essential but contradictory actions. First, it must disrupt and disorganize the organizations and groups. However:

the state cannot merely overtly repress behaviour which is considered [a threat]. It must also legitimize that repression.... If the state engages merely in outright repression, it runs the risk of destroying its he-



gemony, which relies on people believing it is a neutral arbiter.... The state is compelled to maintain a legalistic image if it is to limit political, collective resistance.

[T]he state solves this inherent problem [repression-legitimacy] by appealing to the legal system. This enables the state to dispose of the threatening political behaviour while simultaneously legitimizing its repressive acts." (Jim Messerschmidt, *The Trial of Leonard Peltier*, pp. 118-19)

This is reflected in the strategy developed following the 77-day armed standoff between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian military at Oka, 1990. In an analysis of that conflict, it was found that use of the military served to give the Warriors a moral victory in the eyes of the public. As a result, it was decided that police forces must be equipped and trained to handle such sieges in the future. By limiting the role of the military, and portraying it as simply a simple policing matter, this criminalization of the rebels was reinforced.

While the security forces were successful in isolating and marginalizing the Indigenous rebels at Gustafsen Lake, this was not permanent. By carrying out a wide range of public communications (public speaking, media/alternative media, videos, radio, publications, etc.), the rebels were able to counter their portrayal as "terrorists" while maintaining their original defensive position based on an assertion of Indigenous sovereignty (which was a direct challenge to the legitimacy of the state and corporate expansion).

The Gustafsen Lake siege had a profound impact on a new generation of Indigenous youth, who carried on both the spirit of the rebellion and its concept of sovereignty. In 1996-99, the Native Youth Movement established itself and expanded, based to a large extent on this assertion of sovereignty realized in a campaign against the BC Treaty Process. Along with this, new evidence presented in the year long trial of 1996-97 served to expose the true nature of the RCMP's 'smear and disinformation' campaign.

Over time, many people who initially accepted the state and media disinformation came to change their views, including members of the media. "The fact is camp members weren't the terrorists RCMP made them out to be." (Joey Thompson, column "Media should apologize for gullibility on Gustafsen Lake," *The Province*, Sept. 26, 1997)

The "terrorists" in fact, were elders, men, women, and children.

During the 1919-20 period of labour unrest, when rebellious worker's movements were virtually destroyed, one militant provided an enduring assessment of the repression-resistance cycles:

This is only a momentary defeat on a world-wide battle front. Remember that permanently we cannot lose. Every struggle is a lesson.... Every brutal act of suppression brings capitalism nearer to its inevitable doom....

In summary, the most effective responses to "anti-terrorism" appear to be:

1. Maintain as broad a level of support as possible while continuing on with organizing and resistance.
2. Understand that, at time, this support may be removed and the group isolated, due to smear and disinformation campaigns (or at other times by the necessity to engage in actions that do not receive wide support but which are necessary in order to advance)
3. Know that, by consistently challenging the state's version of events and its very legitimacy, such repression can be overcome, and can be used as a tool for resistance (i.e., by exposing the true nature of the state and its security forces, by using any incident and conflict, including imprisonment, as a basis for further resistance).

A Brief Primer on the State Security Apparatus in Canada

(Adapted from EVAH)

Recent incidents have highlighted the role of various Canadian intelligence & police agencies in surveillance and disruption of social movements, ranging from indigenous peoples to anti-nuclear activists, from anti-globalization groups to environmentalists.

The basis of any counter-insurgency program and state repression is intelligence, and for this reason the state places great emphasis on the gathering and analysis of information, including population demographics, social trends, and profiles of movements, organizations, and individuals.

Canadian Security Intelligence Service

CSIS was created after the RCMP's Secret Service was disbanded following revelations of illegal misconduct in the course of activities during the 1960s and '70s. It was established through the CSIS Act 1984. It is not a law enforcement agency, and focuses on intelligence gathering and analysis. Intelligence is gained from surveillance & infiltration of groups. Information & analysis is passed on to other wings of the federal security system.

National Security Intelligence Service

NSIS is the primary wing of domestic security and is a section of the RCMP. They maintain a database on activists, immigrants, and suspected terrorist organizations. Most major cities have a NSIS office, including Vancouver, Edmonton, Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. It is believed that the Vancouver NSIS employs 12-18 members. There are several sub-groups (Team 1, Team 2, Team 3, etc.) that have different investigative targets. Like CSIS, they employ informants, physical & electronic surveillance, etc. NSIS also uses specialized surveillance units ("Special O") and a penetration team ("Special I") used to covertly enter homes, vehicles, and other property for investigative purposes.

Communications Security Establishment

The CSE is an agency of the Department of National Defense, long clouded in secrecy. They collect and process telephone, fax and computer communications of foreign states, corporations, and individuals. Although the CSE is not technically allowed to intercept the communications of Canadian citizens, it is a partner in the Echelon Project—an international intelligence gathering system which facilitated sharing of information between various national security agencies in the US, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (part of a global surveillance web).





Conclusions

Ultimately, any movement that seeks fundamental and transformative changes in society will be confronted with state repression. If the legal apparatus limits or restricts this repression, security forces will ignore such laws, or the state itself will enact new laws legitimizing repressive action.

The essential characteristics of the new National Security State are not the result of 9-11, but rather of a historical process, today referred to as Globalization. As such, the effects of 9-11 signify a new stage in the evolution towards total social control, which is based on technology, increasing social conflict, and the need to ensure continued exploitation and expansion of transnational capital. This progression has led to the establishment of a global corporate fascism.

The only logical response to the National Security State and its repressive function is the continued application of resistance, based on present-day analysis and the lessons of history.

"We don't initiate movements, we seek to understand them. We realise that beyond a very transitory influence, great movements are not caused by individuals, they are the result of conditions." (*Red Flag*, 22 March 1919, Vancouver, BC)

The uncertainty and conflict of the future will create conditions in which resistance will be fertile, providing movements are prepared to exploit such opportunities, overcoming their present marginalization, while being able to survive increasing repression.

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November 2001

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Investigative Hearings and Fighting Back the American Way

(Adapted from No Compromise)

Grand juries are a tool of political repression which the American government uses to frighten activists, create mistrust, drive people out of the movement, and cause others to inform on friends out of fear. Grand juries are the modern day Inquisitions. The newly instituted investigative powers in the Canadian anti-terrorism act, Bill C-36, mirror the grand jury process in that testimony can be compelled from witnesses with the threat of contempt charges. Like in the US, Canadian charges of contempt of court have no maximums and in theory one can be detained until one speaks. This is not to say that you cannot resist; for years activists in the states have hindered the grand jury system by non-compliance, many going to jail for their beliefs. The following list of tactics used to resist the American system are presented as starting points for those of us living under the Canadian state. Hopefully we can learn from them and defend ourselves when the agents knock.

1. Organize Early. As soon as you hear a grand jury is convening, start organizing to fight it. The sooner you start working against it, the more options you will have to fight it through legal and political channels.
2. Get Help. Start organizing by contacting other groups who have experience and expertise in fighting grand juries.
3. Stick Together. Typically, when a grand jury convenes, activists avoid those targeted with subpoenas for fear that associating with them will make them a potential target -- YOU MUST NOT DO THIS! Activists must stick together and support each other -- not isolate targeted activists as the authorities want us to do! Thankfully, the nationwide coalition of grassroots militant activists who have helped support the LA3, Barry Horne, Tony Wong, and Sue McCrosky, as well as other activists, will not abandon you should you be targeted for government harassment. Be sure to contact the resources group's below to tap into their support.
4. Set Up a Defense Committee. To organize support, resistance, and educational efforts locally, a defense committee should be formed. They will be responsible for coordinating media, organizing news conferences, support protests, producing educational literature, working with the lawyers of the targeted activists, supporting the activists in other ways, and coordinating jail support should anyone be imprisoned.
5. Expose the Authorities Abuse of the Grand Jury System. Conduct news conferences, send out news releases, organize protests, and distribute literature exposing the government's harassment of activists, the FBI's COINTELPRO activities, and the unconstitutional and undemocratic nature of the grand juries. Exposing the authorities abuse of our civil liberties in the media typically causes them to back off. And right now the FBI are most vulnerable to bad press because of FBI whistle-blowers who say the crime lab has falsified evidence to gain convictions, and because their blunders at Waco, Ruby Ridge, and Atlanta City are still fresh in the minds of most Americans.
6. Don't Cooperate with the Authorities. This means knowing your rights, and asserting them. You do not have to talk to the government agents. Even if arrested, you do not have to talk to them. If arrested all you have to give is your name and address -- tell them no more. You do not have to let them search your house or car without a warrant -- so don't. In fact, you don't even have to answer your door when the police are there unless they have a warrant. By asserting your rights, you again frustrate their attempts to get information on activists to further their COINTELPRO actions and harassment against the movement.
7. Educate Other Activists. Be sure to educate other local activist on what their rights are and how grand juries work. Let them know that, should they be subpoenaed, there is a support committee of people available to help.
8. Utilize All Legal Strategies. There are plenty of court strategies that can be used to frustrate the authorities' grand jury witch hunts. Motions to quash the subpoenas, or motions for discovery of electronic surveillance can be used to tie them up in the courts for months and force them to give over information they would prefer to keep secret.
9. Have Patience. Resist the temptation to "get it over with" by testifying at the grand jury or going to jail. It is important to resist for as long as possible. Activists who are quick to go to jail, can be used to scare other activists into cooperating with the authorities. Instead, be sure to exhaust all of the many legal, political, and constitutional solutions. Grand Juries last for 18 months, and the longer you can stall them, the less time activists will have to spend in jail, should they be jailed.
10. Do NOT Testify or Capitulate to Their Demands. Never enter the grand jury chamber. And unless you are going to be issuing some motions, don't even go to the courthouse. If they want your fingerprints, or mailing lists, don't give it to them. Resist and fight! The stronger you resist, the better it will turn out for you. According to a publication by the National Lawyers Guild, "For many political activists, the historic and principled way to avoid these dilemmas (informing, perjury) has been the invocation of absolute non-collaboration with grand jury investigations of political movements. While this has resulted in many instances with the witness' incarceration for contempt, it has also discouraged the subpoenaing of further witnesses, and on some occasions, the withdrawal of all subpoenas."

(Continued from page 6)

fectively marginalized more radical groups and any First Nations or groups that continue to oppose industrial logging. The system has not changed, only a few scraps were thrown down from the industry's table.

Which brings us to the root of the problem with this deal: forestry reforms don't work, and they don't "save" forests. This deal is 100% liberal enviro strategy avoiding root problems of the system and instead going for flashy media-friendly victories.

People campaign against a certain company or government, to get a certain area protected. They give the area a catchy name. Customers of this company are told not to buy from this company, or at least until they change. When (and if) that area is protected, the enviros declare victory and are able to boost their image and funding. The companies suffer a small loss and begin logging elsewhere, the enviros go and campaign elsewhere. Broader social and systemic analysis are avoided in favor of cute pictures of bears and big trees. Capitalism, the industrial resource extraction machine, and the state are not discussed, as all effort and attention is focused on a company, their forest practices and a certain endangered area.

Enviros often work to get certain areas "protected" by the state, while ignoring that the state is working for the corporations that are destroying the forest and the government always protects the interests of industry and capitalism. Analysis such as this is thrown out in favor of working towards "achieving practical goals of protection."

Agreements such as the Great Bear Rainforest Agreement are signed because "well, at least we're protecting some areas." But in reality, protecting a few areas does nothing to stop the wholesale slaughter of the earth for profit or change the resource extraction capitalist mindset and power structure which has brought us to this point. If anything they aid it by putting forward small

reforms that give a positive face to logging and the government.

Even the "protection areas" in this deal are still threatened. With the current Liberal government any previous environmental regulations and agreements such as this one may be overturned or bypassed. That is clearly happening with the Great Bear Rainforest Agreement already. For example, in the spring of 2002, Interfor hopes to log the Tahlia Hot Springs, a sacred healing place for the Nuxalk. This was supposed to be one of the "protection areas." On November 15, 2001, the Liberals announced that the whole remaining negotiations would be streamlined with fewer people being involved in the decision making process.

As someone who has been involved in the direct action resistance to clearcut logging in "BC", it has made me examine the tactics and strategies of past and present actions. And brought up many questions: Is it really effective to target single corporations while many others are doing the same exact thing? Is it effective to focus on one pristine valley or area when logging and resource extraction happens all over? Are short term protection strategies, detrimental to long term revolutionary change? Is it effective to even work in coalition with large enviros or any environmental group that lacks a broader analysis of capitalism, industry and the state and is willing to negotiate?

These are questions that everyone in the forest defense movement should ask themselves. A critical look at analysis, tactics, strategy and message is important to avoid falling into the ineffective trap of liberal environmentalism.

As radical environmentalists and eco-anarchists, we should not consider small concessions from industry and the state "victories," but instead should continue to oppose all forms of ecological destruction and exploitation in this world.



I STRUGGLE, I SURVIVE

By Cessie Dare

I am Mother, Daughter, and Sister. I feel I have lived many lives in this life I currently live. Oppression is oppressing, and I struggle my way out of systematically delusional dead ends. I chose not to graduate from high school, to pursue healthy self-sustainability and heal my life from my past. I had more in common with living the education of my personal experience, than with the lies of colonization. I have little interest in one-sided stories of how the world began. I don't have time for throwing away stories of my Ancestors and our Aboriginal Land.

I am a survivor of violence. I have survived many kinds of violence throughout my life. Emotional, psychological, sexual and physical. I will not say which episode was worse, because none of the violations needed to happen in the first place. Preventative measures to put an end to violence before it happens are essential in effective restorative healing processes for both survivors and perpetrators of violence. I speak from a life long experience of Surviving.

Each day comes and goes and I am still alive. Courage to grow and heal comes with the courage of the people I am surrounded by. Growth and healing comes through making, and knowing how to make, informed choices. With Integrity and Dignity. In our struggling communi-

ties we are each equally responsible to put an end to violence. To achieve a non-abusive environment we must live non-abusively.

Not a day goes by that wimmin do not experience some kind of fear of violence. I less frequently walk alone at night. I feel increasingly afraid as I age, in fear for sisters younger than myself who might experience what I have or worse. Sadness fills my heart at times when I feel so afraid. Helplessness brings me to tears and my rage lies unexpressed. What can I do to stop violence against wimmin?

Centuries of unlearning must take place. How long will it take until I can live in a Safe place for my sisters and daughter?

Perpetuating violence is something we do because we are taught to silence ourselves in our pain in order to survive. Perpetrators of violence struggle with lack of self power. I believe that those who perpetuate endless cycles of abuse and violence are hurting deeply and are missing essential prevention skills. Perpetrators are an integral piece in the systematic social injustices of an oppressed society. In my mind, this is why there are little or no resources for Healing perpetrators of violence.

Surviving violence is something that we do if we can live through it. A lot of us don't survive a beating or sexual assault. A lot of us end our own lives because the

pain is just too much to take alone anymore.

Over-coming violence has been the experience of my life since the day of my Birth. Finding a place to begin is challenging. Remembering that beginning place is painful. I was born into a violent family as well as a violent society as all of us are today. Innately within me, I have always known there was something terribly wrong in life. As a child I was powerless. I learned to endure perpetual violations of my Body, Mind and Spirit. I was not Empowered to say No!

Saying 'please and thank you' for things not to be pleased with or thankful for, is one of my toughest challenges in life. Why feel thankful that wimmin are abused by colonization and capitalism? Why feel thankful for being silenced by a corporate-paid state system of violent genocide? Why feel pleased by being oppressed by men and a male-dominated system of violence? Being provided with tools to be empowered to stop violence is a right, not a privilege.

As a survivor I strongly feel that violence won't end until we create Healthy Community processes in which we are all equally accountable for our own actions. Where we have clear recognition of the role we each have in the perpetuation of oppressive societies.

In the past ten years since giving my

three year old son and one year old daughter up for private adoption, I have remained Committed to Healing myself in order to be equipped to Empower others. I continue my struggle. I do not surrender! I will probably struggle until I die. My life is committed to see Change happen. I have not only seen change, I have been a part of making that change happen in concrete and real ways. It is the Wisdom of my Ancestors who help me create such change and healing.

We must all support perpetrators of violence, to show there are Healthier and more Effective ways to express our anger and pain. We must also support Survivors of violence with out re-victimizing and oppressing the healing processes with pity but rather Compassion and Empathy. I over-flow with compassion and forgiveness for myself, as well as my assailants. It doesn't mean I am not angry or still afraid, but I sincerely believe we all have the right and the capability to Grow, Heal and Change.

Please contact your local crisis help centre if you are a perpetrator of violence. If you have abused any one, including yourself, you can get help in learning how to make healthier choices around reacting violently from your anger, helplessness, or pain. Violence is a choice. End the violence of silence. It takes a Whole community to end patriarchy and oppression. The time is Now!

image of ourselves is not because I think that if we change our ideas then everything will be alright, but because I had nothing to say about our activity. This was very clearly a critique written from the inside and thus also a self-critique and I am still very much involved in "activist" politics. As I made plain, I have not necessarily got any clearer idea than anyone else of how to go about developing new forms of action more appropriate to an "anti-capitalist" perspective. June 18th was a valiant attempt to do just this, and "Give up Activism" was not a criticism of the action on June 18th as such. I certainly couldn't have come up with anything much better myself.

Although the piece is called "Give up Activism", I did not want to suggest at all that people stop trashing GM crops, smash-

actually some room for manoeuvre within our activist role so that we can try and break from activist practice as far as we are able. The point is that challenging the "subjective" element, our "activist self-image" will at least be a step towards moving beyond the role in its "objective" element also. As I said in "Give up Activism", only with a general escalation of the class struggle will activists be able to completely ditch their role, but in the meantime: "to work to escalate the struggle it will be necessary to break with the role of activists to whatever extent is possible to constantly try to push at the boundaries of our limitations and constraints. Which was precisely the point of the article.

For if we cannot even think beyond the role now, then what hope have we of

It's not that people don't understand that capital is a social relation and that it's to do with production as well as just banks and stock exchanges, here as well as in the Third World or that capital is a relation between classes. The point is that even when all of this is understood our attitude to this is still as outsiders looking in, deciding at what point to attack this system. Our struggle against capitalism is not based on our relation to value-creation, to work. On the whole the people who make up the direct action movement occupy marginal positions within society as the unemployed, as students or working in various temporary and transitory jobs. We do not really inhabit the world of production, but exist largely in the realm of consumption and cir-



ing up the city and disrupting the gatherings of the rich and powerful, or any of the other myriad acts of resistance that "activists" engage in. It was more the way we do these things and what we think we are doing when we do them that I was seeking to question. Because "Give up Activism" had little or nothing to recommend in terms of objective practical activity, the emphasis on the subjective made it seem like I thought these problems existed only in our heads.

Of course, thinking of ourselves as activists and as belonging to a community of activists is no more than a recognition of the truth, and there is nothing pathological in that. The problem I was trying to make clear was the identification with the activist role being happy as a radical minority. I intended to question the role, to make people dissatisfied with the role, even while they remained within it. It is only in this way that we stand a chance of escaping it.

Obviously we are constrained within our specific circumstances. During an ebb in the class struggle, revolutionaries are in even more of a minority than they are in any case. We probably don't have any choice about appearing as a strange subculture. But we do have a choice about our attitude to this situation, and if we come to ditch the mental identification with the role then we may discover that there is

ever escaping it? We should at the very least be dissatisfied with our position as a radical minority and be trying to generalise the struggle and make the necessary upturn happen. Doing away with the activist mentality is necessary but not sufficient for doing away with the role in practice.

Up the Workers!

Although "Give up Activism" shied away from recommending any actual change in behaviour outside of saying that we needed one, perhaps now it would be appropriate to say something about this. How can we bring "politics" out of its separate box, as an external cause to which we dedicate ourselves?

Many of the criticisms of the direct action movement all revolve around similar points. Capitalism is based on work, our struggles against it are not based on our work but quite the opposite, they are something we do outside whatever work we may do. Our struggles are not based on our direct needs (as for example, going on strike for higher wages); they seem disconnected, arbitrary. Our "days of action" and so forth have no connection to any wider on-going struggle in society. We treat capitalism as if it was something external, ignoring our own relation to it. These points are repeated again and again in criticisms of the direct action movement (including "Give up Activism" but also in many other places).

What unity the direct action movement possesses does not come from all working in the same occupation or living in the same area. It is a unity based on intellectual commitment to a set of ideas.

To a certain extent "Give up Activism" was being disingenuous (as were many of the other critiques making similar points) in providing all these hints but never spelling out exactly where they led, which left the door open for them to be misunderstood. The author of the critique in *The Bad Days Will End!* was right to point out what the article was indicating but shied away from actually mentioning: the basic thing that's wrong with activism is that it isn't collective mass struggle by the working class at the point of production, which is the way that revolutions are supposed to happen.

The sort of activity that meets the criteria of all the criticisms that is based on immediate needs, in a mass on-going struggle, in direct connection to our everyday lives and that does not treat capital as something external to us, is this working class struggle. It seems a little unfair to criticise the direct action movement for not being something that it cannot be and has never claimed to be, but nevertheless, if we want to move forward we've got to know what we're lacking.

The reason that this sort of working class struggle is the obvious answer to what we are lacking is that this is the model of revolution that the last hundred years or so has handed down to us that we have to draw upon. However, the shadow of the failure of the workers' movement still hangs over us. And if this is not the model of how a revolution might happen, then what is? And no one has any very convincing answers to that question.

A Vociferous Minority

So we are stuck with the question "what do we do as a radical minority that wants to create revolution in non-revolutionary times?" The way I see it at the moment we basically have two options. The first is to recognise that as a small scene of radicals we can have relatively little influence on the overall picture and that if and when an upsurge in the class struggle occurs it probably won't have much to do with us. Therefore until the mythical day arrives the best thing we can do is to continue to take radical action, to pursue politics that push things in the right direction and to try and drag along as many other people as possible, but basically to resign ourselves to that fact that we are going to continue to be a minority. So until the point when some sort of upturn in the class struggle occurs it's basically a holding operation. We can try and stop things getting worse, have a finger in the dam, try and strategically target weak points in the system where we think we can hit and have some effect, develop our theory, live our lives in as radical a way as possible, build a sustainable counterculture that can carry on doing these things in the long term and hopefully when one day, events out of our control lead to a general radicalisation of society and an upturn in the class struggle we will be there ready to play some part and to contribute what things we have learnt and what skills we have developed as a radical subculture.

The flaw in this sort of approach is that it appears almost like another sort of "automatic Marxism" a term used to poke fun at those Marxists who thought that a revolution would happen when the contradictions between the forces and the relations of production had matured sufficiently, when the objective conditions were right, so that revolution almost seemed to be a process that happened without the need for any human involvement and you could just sit back and wait for it to happen. This sort of idea is a flaw carried over into ultra-left thinking. As is explained in *The Bad Days Will End!*, many ultra-left groups have recognised that in periods of downturn, they are necessarily going to be minorities and have argued against compen-

sating for this with any kind of party-building or attempts to substitute their group for the struggle of the proletariat as a whole. Some ultra-left groups have taken this line of thinking to its logical conclusion and have ended up turning doing nothing into a political principle. Of course our response would not be to do nothing, but nevertheless, the point remains that if everyone similarly just waited for an upsurge to happen then it certainly never would happen. Effectively by just waiting for it to happen we are assuming that someone else will do it for us and maintaining a division between us and the "ordinary" workers who will make this happen.

The alternative to this scenario is to stop thinking of the ebbs and flows of the class struggle like some force of nature that just come and go without us being able to effect them at all, and to start thinking about how to build class power and to end the current disorganised and atomised state of workers in this country. The problem is that over the last twenty or so years, the social landscape of the country has changed so fast and so rapidly that it has caught us on the hop. Restructuring and relocation have fractured and divided people. We

could try and help re-compose a new unity. Instead of just being content with doing our bit and waiting for the upturn, to try and make this upturn happen. We will probably still be acting as activists, but maybe to a lesser extent, and at least we will be making it more possible for us to abolish activism altogether at some point in the future.

One way of doing this is suggested in the critique in *The Bad Days Will End!*

"To lose the specialisation of activists, we could choose to listen to the thousands and thousands of non-activists and engage with them and the struggles they are involved in. We could try and facilitate and link what struggles are already going on, attempting to build the upsurge in class struggle rather than just waiting for it to happen all by itself. A recent example quoted in *The Bad Days Will End!* is the investigation into call centres initiated by the German group Kolinko, which was also contributed to in the recent Undercurrent No 8."(4)

The idea of this project is that call centres represent the "new sweatshops" of the information economy and that if a new cycle of workers' resistance is to emerge anywhere then this might just be the place.

It is perhaps also worth considering that changing circumstances might work to our advantage, the restructuring of the welfare state is forcing more and more activists into work. For example the call center enquiry project mentioned above could rep-



resent a good opportunity for us as call centres are exactly the sort of places where people forced off the dole end up working and exactly the sort of temporary and transient jobs in which those involved in the direct action movement end up working also. This certainly could help make the connection between capitalism and our own immediate needs, and perhaps might allow us to better participate in developing new fronts in the class struggle. Or the increased imposition of work could just end up with us even more fucked over than we are at present, which is obviously what the government are hoping. They are attempting to both have their cake and eat it trying to turn the clock back and return to days of austerity and privation while gambling that the working class is so atomised and divided by twenty years of attacks that this will not provoke a return of the struggle that originally brought about the introduction of these amelioration measures in the first place. Only time will tell whether they are to be successful in their endeavour or whether we are to be successful in ours.

In conclusion, perhaps the best thing would be to try and adopt both of the above methods. We need to maintain our radicalism and commitment to direct action, not being afraid to take action as a minority. But equally, we can't just resign ourselves to being a radical minority while we wait for everyone else to make a revolution for us. We should also perhaps look at the potential for making our direct action complement whatever practical contribution to current workers struggles we may feel able to make. In both the possible scenarios outlined above we continue to act more or less within the activist role. But hopefully in both of these different scenarios we would be able to reject the mental identification with the role of activism and actively try to go beyond our status as activists to whatever extent is possible.

Notes

- 1) "The Necessity and Impossibility of Anti-Activism", *The Bad Days Will End!*, No. 3. I highly recommend this article, and the magazine contains some other good stuff too, so it's worth getting hold of. Try and get your hands on a copy by sending \$3 to: Merrymount Publications, PO Box 441597, Somerville, MA 02144, USA.
- 2) *The Bad Days Will End!*, No. 3, p.53)
- 3) Gilles Dauve (Jean Barrot) "Critique of the Situationist International" in *What is Situationism?: A Reader*, Ed. Stewart Home (AK Press, 1996), p.35
- 4) The Kolinko proposal was recently published in *Collective Action Notes* and is also available on the web at: "http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/kolinko/index_e.html"



PRISON SCAVENA

NATIVE PRISONERS

In 1999, the incarceration rate for native people was said to be as high as 735 / 100,000. This is disproportionate compared to the national rate of 151 / 100,000. In 1999-2000, Native people made up 2% of Canada's adult prison population but accounted for 17% of the prison population both provincially and federally (Native wimmin accounted for 24% of the female prison population). However in the prairie provinces native people are incarcerated at 35 times the rate of the mainstream population. In Saskatchewan, natives account for 76% of the prison population, in Manitoba, 59%, and in Alberta, 38%.

Native prisoners are: less likely to receive parole grants; serve more time before parole is granted; and are more likely to have their parole revoked than non-native prisoners. Also Native prisoners are more likely to be classified as a higher security risk and therefore spend more time in maximum-security prisons, especially in the case of native wimmin.

For native people the Canadian prison system is just another tool used to commit genocide on their people, assimilate their culture and continue the 510 year old war that the Canadian State has waged against their people.

WIMMIN IN PRISON

Last year over 9,000 wimmin were admitted into custody in Canada's prison system. While wimmin make up a small percentage of Canada's prison population, the crimes they are convicted of tend to result in tend to result in jail time rather than the existing alternatives to imprisonment. 75% of all charges laid against wimmin are for shoplifting, fraud and for drug or alcohol violations. Another frequent charge against wimmin is prostitution. Although the crimes committed by wimmin tend to be less serious in nature (according to Canadian law) than those of men, wimmin are more likely to be held in maximum-security prisons. Last year 24% of the Canadian State's wimmin prison population was native wimmin and 6.5% was black wimmin.

In the USA, nearly 50% of the wimmin on death row are imprisoned for the murder of an abusive spouse or lover. Of these wimmin most were first time offenders. Also many mothers are refused the chance to visit their children.

"Sexism is only one form of systematic oppression. Classism and other hierarchies of dominance are inherent to the legal system. For example, rich women don't go to jail very often compared to poor women. Is it because rich women are better human beings? Or is it because they are not forced to live on the streets, have never been forced to steal or prostitute in order to feed kids, because they don't get thrown in jails for having addictions, don't have to deal with an abusive welfare system that in turn steals their kids because of the mother's lifestyle of homelessness and uncertainty - meaning poverty?"

(Pam Fleming, "Gender Bias in the Law: is it enough?" *Canadian Women's Studies*, Spring, 92.)

Prisons do not and can not meet the needs of wimmin. They only serve to further disempower, juvenalize, stigmatize, trivialize and further victimize wimmin.

YOUTH DETENTION

While youth account for 8% of Canada's total population, they represent 21% of people charge by the police. 66% of these charges resulted in convictions. 50% of these convictions resulted in imprisonment. Canada imprisons young people at 4 times the rate they imprison adults and 10 - 15 times the rate of European countries.

BLACK PRISONERS

In Ontario, black people are imprisoned in disproportionate numbers. Correctional Service of Canada's (CSC) own data shows that black prisoners comprise about 9% of the federal prison population in the Ontario Region, and black wimmin make up 6.5% of the female prison population.

The rate of incarceration in the USA is significantly higher. It is that by the year 2010 nearly 50% of black males between the ages of 18 and 45 will be incarcerated in Amerikkkan prisons. In over 80% of studies in the U.S., the race of the victim was found to influence the likelihood of being charged with capital murder or the death penalty. For instance, those who murdered whites were more likely to be sentenced to death than those who murdered blacks.

On May 18 2001 I was given the privilege of a first hand glimpse into the prison system. After being sentenced to one month in Corrections, ha ha, to be rehabilitated for the crime of protecting my water source and habitat in the Slocan Valley with my body. What did I learn from my short stint of incarceration? Next time I'm running.

This piece is fragments of thought written over the five days I spent in City Cells waiting for transfer to Burnaby Correctional Centre for Women. Written with a one inch pencil led smuggled into City Cells in my stinky sock. I am not sharing this because I believe that I have been through something more horrible than others. I wanted to share the small glimpse I had of solitary confinement because I couldn't stop thinking about the amount of people who undergo long periods in the hole, sometimes years.

I felt loony after several days. The strength of these people to survive separated from everything that is life and the brutality of this system called democracy are both incredible. All prisoners are political prisoners

"I have to shackle you for prison transfer," she says smiling apologetically, "its not of my discretion."

He'd been waiting outside the courthouse for hours for a glimpse of me. I came from the dungeon under the courthouse blinking into the sunshine. Embarrassed of my shackles and handcuffs. Embarrassed to be a common criminal. Embarrassed of my weakness.

The only thing loose in cellblock 5 is a roll of toilet paper and a bar of soap. A camera covers every inch of my cubic cement cell. An invasive eye, watching to see if I commit the deadly sin of suicide. Or worse, try to escape. Who wouldn't think of suicide in here? Every smell I make sits in the air, adds on to the others. I hope my nose stays stuffed up.

In my cube I only see squares. With one exception, the roundness of the toilet bowl. I squat over it. Time sits like stagnant air. Hours ago a man's voice said dinner would be shortly. I look forward to eating, not because I am hungry, but because it is something of a different colour.

We made love three times yesterday, clutching and clawing at each other. Whispering I love you I love you I love you. As deep inside me as he was, it still wasn't close enough. We came together as if it were the last night on earth before it exploded. Instead we exploded. I can still smell him.

I hear it is after seven. They have brought me Chinese food no Chinese person would ever eat. And a coffee. Why would they bring me a coffee at night? Is it some kind of torture treatment so that I can't sleep? I tell myself "don't fall for it." But I do anyways; I sip it like it is a delicacy.

The guard comes to the door and says sweetly "you're not a bad girl are you? You are only trying to protect the trees and the water." Then she holds up her fist to the smudged rectangle window. Shaking it, she yells, "I'm with you all the way." Then walks away, leaving me sobbing into my noodles. She thinks I am going to save the world for her. It will never be saved for that very reason. I don't want to be her hero. She can be her own hero. No sleep last night. Bright florescent lights and a man yelling. Smashing his beast of a body against the metal door over and over and over. It is the drunk tank and it's May 24 weekend. He is screaming "fuck you, you cock sucker, where's my fuckin' phone call. I want a roll of fucking toilet paper." In four minute intervals. This is my neighbour. He's still banging in the morning. I know it is morning because they brought me soggy A&W toast and

minute maid OJ. My lights are brighter too. The guard said it was a rotten day outside. I wish I could smell it.

I got a new neighbour. He came in whimpering and drunk, kicked the door three times, and fell into silence. More sleep no dreams. I skipped dinner last night. The food is making me sick. I smell of sweat and urine and I still haven't had a shit. It's that camera, it makes me constipated. Day two of twenty-eight. I cannot even begin to understand what it would be like to be serving the first few days of a life sentence. Knowing that it will not end and every single day will be the same. That for the rest of your life there will be no colour. I stare at the royal blue towel they gave me. The colour seems so vibrant beside the grey of everything else.

Cell block five. I always thought five was my lucky number, I guess I was mistaken. The keys clank from hips. They lock themselves in and out. The TV drones on in the distance. The guards are bored too. Then go home. They didn't have to bring you here in chains.



How long does it take before I begin to talk to myself out loud just to hear a voice? Two days. I pace and mutter and mutter and pace. We are all rats in an experiment. They watch our behaviour on their TV screens. Scribble notes. Report.

Three more days without daylight to go. I keep my eyes closed mostly as not to see the dim grey. Behind my eyelids it's wet. I can see green. Luscious flowers gush off each branch. They overflow with dropping petals like popping corn in a bowl too small. Greedy hands dive in displacing light white puffs. It's wet, leaves are shiny. I walk on soaked, squishy moss. It makes me thirsty. I want to suck the dew-drops off the grass blades, lick the sweet and spicy petals of lilies. Better yet, pull the whole flower head off its stem with my teeth. Biting into the crisp, succulent flesh. Gulping the juices and the pollen like a humming bird. Imagine, it's wet, the river swollen, pregnant with spring. Rushing down from its home in the sky to the valley bottom, then the sea.

It's wet. And slugs crawl black and shiny onto grey pavement. I can't save them all from their suicide mission to centreline. How long have I been here? Have I always been here? I can't even masturbate, that fucking eye in the corner is always staring at me. Pervert! My body aches, shakes with tension and nausea. My world is ten by ten and I hate it. But hey, I made a friend today. His name is Morgan. He is 16 and been here too many times. The cop twisted his ankle chasing him. I congratulated the kid.

I dreamt I was lying with a woman. I could not see her face, but her touch set my body on fire. I awoke shivering. "That a girl," the guard squawked when I ate some of my dinner. I barked back and wagged my tail. I am not eating tomorrow. I realize I have two choices. 1: eat or not eat. 2: wear my underwear on the inside of my pants or the outside. So, I have taken to wearing my black lace panties over my purple pants. I ask now to be called Girl Wonder. They still call me Hey You. I would demand respect for the superhero I am but alas, my super powers do not fare well through six-inch thick concrete. I look forward to the day when Boy Wonder and I are reunited under the forces of evil. Until then I am an imprisoned super hero of the enemy police state. I pace my cell with a smidgen of the power I once held.

Morgan left today for his bail hearing. He is from a family of ten kids, most of whom have tried to commit suicide at least once in their lives. He says his family is pretty messed up. He seems pretty sane to me.

I think it is the fifth day in this dungeon under the library. I waited for two days because they said I might have a visitor. Today I realized when it came to supper-time and they hadn't come I gave up hope. I still haven't seen daylight but the woman guard comes in tank top and sandals. I am shivering in a wool sweater. I sit on the floor with my face squished sideways through the slot in the door where they throw the food in. Scott, my co-accused, can just hear me in his cell if I yell and repeat myself a few times. I'm reading E.E Cummings. He's reading some pirate adventure story. He reads me a few pages until his voice is hoarse and I scream out:

Goodnight Scott...
Goodnight Chloe...

Writing a Prisoner (from an APLAN guide)

As resistance to capitalism and government escalates, the number of people involved in the struggle that will be abducted, kidnapped, beaten, framed, jailed and most likely murdered by the authorities will also rise. Because they are contained behind prison walls does not mean they should be forgotten or counted out-of-commission. It is imperative to support them in their isolation and their continued struggles on the inside. Most simply stated, jail can be lonely and it helps to know that others are thinking about you. It can also help their situation by authorities knowing that people are watching and aware.

It can be intimidating writing a prisoner for the first time. The list that follows is a guide to help those interested in supporting prisoners, but there is no formal set of rules. Prisons' regulations vary and prisoner's needs and desires are vast and differing.

- First abandon and forget all the stereotypes and preconceived notions you may have of people in jail.
- You may want to use a PO box. This creates a consistent mailing address (in case of travelling or moving) and prevents your home address being hand delivered to the authorities.
- Some prisons will not accept mail without a return address or some sort of a last name so be sure to include them on the envelope.
- Date all your correspondence. Mail tampering and delays do happen. Write your return address on the letter because sometimes envelopes are discarded before the mail is given to the prisoner.
- List enclosures on envelope. You should assume all mail is monitored so listing enclosed items may help the get through quicker, help in their being returned to you if denied or assist the prisoner in litigation for mail censorship if they choose to pursue the issue.
- Use standard paper and envelopes. As your relationship develops you can experiment with envelope art or fancy paper if you wish, but for starters, don't give the authorities any reason to reject the mail.
- Again, assume all correspondence is monitored. Do not say anything compromising your safety or, more importantly, the safety of the prisoner. Guards may take retribution for what you write out on the prisoner - mentally and/or physically.
- Do not draw symbols that may improperly be construed as "gang related." This is particularly true of anarchy symbols since more and more frequently anarchists and their sympathizers are being labelled as gang members and as a "security threat group" (STG), which can lead to greater isolation, brutality and placement in white supremacy units where their lives would be endangered.
- Ask if they can receive stamps or envelopes and what the restrictions are for mailing those supplies into the prison. Inmates may receive an abundance of mail and/or lack of sufficient funds or stamps to reply to everyone. Be patient and if the prisoner can receive mail supplies, send them when able. Be sure to find out the proper procedure first as the rules can change drastically between prisons.

If writing a complete stranger is difficult at first don't worry. It gets easier the more you do it and as a relationship develops. Basically, use common sense when writing. Do not make promises you can not keep and do not get a prisoner's hopes up just to let them down. They psychologically suffer enough being locked in a cage.

Be careful with financial relationships - money can create tense situations or even power structures. Be aware about the harsh conditions of prison. You may find certain things you are told disturbing. Again, be honest about this with the prisoner and then it can be probably rectified. As with anything, do not be guilty into doing something you are uncomfortable with.

Explaining how you can support or help them (i.e. pen pal, contacts and resources you have, sending news clippings or papers, useful talents, etc...) may be more useful than asking what the prisoner needs. Some prisoners want to keep updated on the resistance through news sources you may be able to provide, but some may want to lay low and finish their time so as not to be so targeted. Ask or let them tell you what they would like from a pen pal. You shouldn't assume prisoners do not want to hear about your personal or daily life. It may be the only taste of the outside world they get.

North American Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network
c/o PO Box 11331, Eugene, OR 97440
www.spiritoffreedom.org.uk
naelpsn@tao.ca

Anarchist Prisoner's Legal Aid Network
818 SW 3rd Ave., PMB 354 Portland OR 97204
aplan@tao.ca

Anarchist Black Cross Network
PO Box 667233,
Houston, TX
77266-7233
apoc@anarchistblackcross.org
www.anarchistblackcross.org

Political Prisoners of War Coalition
PO Box 554, Lincoln, MA 10773 U\$A
Cwritsher@aol.com

Free and Critter Support Committee
PO Box 50263, Eugene, OR 97405
www.efn.org/~eugpeace/freecritter
gumbycascadia@yahoo.com

Prisoners' Justice Day Committee
PO Box 78005, 2606 Commercial Dr.
Vancouver BC, V5N 5W1
Ph. (604).682.3269 ext. 3019
www.vcn.bc.ca/august10
august10@vcn.bc.ca

Leonard Peltier Defence Committee
PO Box 583 Lawrence, KS 66044
www.freepeltier.org

Prisoner Support Groups

Friends of MOVE
PO Box 19709
Philadelphia
PA, 19143
www.moveorg.net

UK Earth Liberation Prisoners' Support Network
c/o CRC, 16 Sholebrooke, Chapelton,
Leeds LS7 3HB UK
earthlibprisoner@mail.com

Vegan Prisoners Support Group
PO Box 194 Enfield, Middlesex
EN1 3HD, UK
www.cares.demon.co.uk/upsg.htm

Sad & beautiful world

INTERVIEW WITH CHAD NORMAN

Chad Norman's book *The Kulling* was written to rectify a record of silencing in the flawed political process between people, the government and corporations. It centres around the destruction of a 10 acre forest in Burnaby, to make way for the new head quarters of Electronic Arts.

Max Sloan: Would you say that the 'Kulling' is a book of protest poems?

Chad Norman: This whole notion of the political in poetry, even today is something where people also snicker about and there's poets that I know that feel there's no place for the political in poetry, which is frightening, very scary and I don't support that insinuation at all. When you mention protest that's something I've been trying to keep very clear for people, as far as I'm concerned there's a book of protest work and there's a book of political poetry and 'The Kulling' is a book of political poetry. It's a book of the poet holding his hand up and saying I oppose this and here's what I oppose and here's why I oppose it. And the difference between the two has become quite vast, because then I can go to someone like Neruda and his book *Song of Protest* and connect and feel part of that type of tradition that long tradition that dates back even further and feel a sense of accomplishment, feeling a sense of comradeship, feeling that my book takes its place with these other books. And in Canada, I think for the time being, I know when I read from this book, that's when I get reaction and that's when I get people, they become infuriated, they become emotional, I've moved them in some way. And that's to me what it's all about, because there's a lot of what I tackle in the book that well people just don't want to know, when I'm condemning the video, I mean I live in an age where video games have been around for a long time and their just part of a household, much like a shelf of videos. I watched what this company did, I knew what this company did, they were thieves and got away with it, this was a criminal act that was performed with a lot of tact, but I was the poet standing in the forest behind their chain link fence at the end of it, watching everything and that's what's in this book and it is unquestionably a book of protest work.

M.S. And a document, a testimony that you have been a witness to this crime these things have been documented and given a voice. I believe that personal history is a big part of poetry especially when your actions and opinions are marginalized.

C.N. I couldn't agree more, you talk about documenting I think it's important that not just the film maker is documenting, the poet has every opportunity to keep clear and eyes wide on his or her age and Canada's history and the events that are happening in this country as we speak, they're important and what I find there seems to be some kind of force against that, and it's a force that seems to want to suggest that our history isn't important and Canada doesn't really matter and it's only about a few things and if you choose to recognize it or state that it's something else, well we're going to think that you're a little fanatical, probably not anyone to listen to, and that's dangerous as far as I'm concerned. As we both know there's been poets down through the ages that have died because of their choice to chronicle and document claim the truth and stand by it and their poems are all about that, the witness aspect has been very predominate in their work.

I mean mention S. America, mention Neruda and the Russians, I think of Osip Mandelstam, the KGB had a field day with this guy and when they found the poem about Stalin in his papers, that was it he was gone, he just disappeared they took him north and he died in a camp no one knew what day he died there were no documents and there still isn't today. But that poem he wrote about Stalin was a truthful poem; it was the type of poem that Russia certainly wasn't ready to deal with. You know I thought to myself when I saw what was going on, I need to take my turn here, I need to come behind these important poets, these elders, these poets that died for the sake of truth and never veering away from it. There's other countries I could mention Ken Sirawawa in Nigeria is another story, hung in a public square, what he was saying about shell hasn't stopped it's still going on and lost of someone like that is horrendous and there's a poet in Indonesia right now, I don't know how much longer she's going to see the light of day, but again she's tackling the government of her country and the atrocities that are going on with the police force. And I think to myself that I'm damn glad that I wrote this book because first of all it helped me to grow as a poet and it helps me to believe that at least I have a book out there that is on the line. If I was writing in another country I may not be speaking, may not even sitting here. But in Canada as long as I'm allowed to write books like this and I can read from them in public I'm going to do it, no one's going to stop me and there's going to be books that are about history and maybe somewhere down the road, when I'm dead someone will pick up the book and pay attention to it.

M.S. I agree that there opportunities for free speech in Canada, but that seems to be changing pretty fast in the wake of Sept. 11th I was in Office Depot today and there was a sign that said "Due to the terrorist attack in New York we will now be reporting all suspicious actions to the authorities and anyone copying I.D. will be asked to furnish a second copy for the Office Depot records"

C.N. I'm glad you brought that up, it astounds me about Office Depot, but it doesn't surprise me and I'm glad you shared that with me, because now I can place that inside myself and begin to understand the age is upon me, this age of paranoia, this age of everything fused or strained through terrorism. It really indicates the wide spread Americana that is here in B.C. I just spent a few weeks in Toronto, I never saw so many American flags, so this idea of the opportunity to embrace and be a neighbour nation, there's no question that's going on, the sign in Office Depot we're going to see more of it. And the poet who chooses to speak out and speak loudly, speak often, the musicians as well. I think for myself it's time for me to dig my boots into the planet even deeper and really get ready to see some of my civil rights threatened and even taken away.

Dealing with truth, trying to push everything that is supposed to be truth away or sort through it or try to really find out for your self what in fact is truth. These are the times that we live in now. Truth is dismantled and taken somewhere then brought back in a variety of forms and a variety of faces and a variety of stories and news reports strategically placed where they need to be, to operate and to seem truth. But I know as a poet I'm leery, I'm doubtful, that has been something that has been extremely important for me to date and I have to except something's. Having written 'The Kulling' it has prepared me for this future that is rapidly coming upon us.

Max Sloan is a poet and radio presenter, co-host of 'A sad and Beautiful World' on CFUV 101.9 FM
Fridays 8-9 pm For more info contact
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Sad & beautiful world

Attn: Gordon Campbell

I am not hard
never intended to pretend
to be hard

collecting images-experiences
soon the time when
I can't keep
my mouth shut

hard to observe
her making a meal
out of coffee
hand full of sugar
two, three packets at a time
and I bite back
"are you hungry?"

shoes worn from walking
feeling like sock feet
on cold urban concrete
and another bill in the mail
to start paying my medical
perhaps they should bulk mail
hope instead of cutting jobs

and when eggs and potatoes
cost too much
with a ten in my wallet
I watch him leave beaten
I-too afraid of his male pride
of my youth
my feet homeward
tell me
no pride in being hungry

I am not hard
never intended to pretend
to be hard

but my life is sobering
and my lips straight
in the face of hopelessness

"If you were a boy you'd
look mean
with a jaw like that"
Am I not a man myself?
not a lady
and thank you mother
that I haven't a cock

couldn't stop walk walk
walking
never stop talking
finding words
never be hard

I saw you and your dog
once sitting on Commercial
you were absent again
cold rice on your face
hand still in the styrobox

weeks later you were the doorman
at my bank
strung out like some
cat's cradle in your own
child hands
and I wanted to ask
"who loves you?"
what is this survival instinct?
resilience
that keeps you trapped?
I see you and think
you are somebody's friend
but you are always alone
do you speak?

bought groceries on Yates
outside a woman

frantically searching her pack
and crying
and frantically searching again
"I don't understand," she said
"just left my bag of money
just cashed my welfare check"
a moment in a poverty shelter
"I don't understand," she said
no one should feel hopelessness

still
me
here

I am not hard
never intended to pretend
to be hard

but that is the façade
that surfaces
when you clench your teeth
to hold your tongue
narrow your eyes
to soften the edges
and look the other way

Yoenne Nov. 23, 2001

The force that through the oil well:

The force that through the oil well drives the car
Drives our 'Green' age; that blasts the roots of Afghanistan
Is our destroyer.
And I am dumb before the thumping roar
That we travel further down this road of Fascism.

The force that through the finger pulls the trigger
Drives our economies; that dries our tears with death
For there is only one.
And that blood is not blood when it is shed
Out-side of the Home Land.

The hand that whirls the globe
Stirs the mind; that ropes the blowing wind
And hauls our Christian shroud.
I am dumb to tell those deep shadows
That even love comes with a price.

The steel gates of time close
And breath is forced as a concussion
Oil drips and gathers, seeking solace
A balm for our wounds, no voice from the forest.

And I'm dumb to tell my Daughter
That her future burns like grass under a desert sun.

Peter Marmont.

And a nod and wink to Dylan Thomas's 'The force that through the green fuse drives the flower'.

